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I. DESIDERI
AN ACCOUNT OF TIBET

BROADWAY TRAVELLERS

THE BROADWAY TRAVELLERS

EDITED BY SIR E. DENISON ROSS
AND EILEEN POWER

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A complete list will be found at the end of this volume

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PADMA SAMBHAVA (Urgyen)
from a Tibetan painting in the
De Filippi collection.

THE BROADWAY TRAVELLERS

EDITED BY SIR E. DENISON ROSS
AND EILEEN POWER

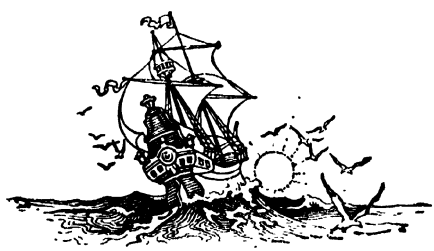
AN ACCOUNT OF TIBET

THE TRAVELS OF IPPOLITO DESIDERI OF PISTOIA, S.J., 1712–1727

Edited by
FILIPPO DE FILIPPI

With an Introduction by
C. WESSELS, S.J.

Revised Edition



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1. Letters (MS.) to the General of the Society of Jesus, dated Goa, 12th November and 15th November, 1713; Surat, 30th December, 1713; Delhi 20th September, 1714; all mentioned by Wessels (p. 274) as being in the possession of the S.J., apparently unpublished.
2. Letter to Father Francesco Piccolomini in Rome, dated Agra, 21st August, 1714, published by C. Wessels in *Atti e Memorie del Congresso di Geografi Orientalisti in Macerata*, 1911, pp. 30–9. This letter is kept in the Jesuit College of Stonyhurst, Lancashire. (G. Sandberg, *Exploration*, note 1, p. 52.)
3. A number of letters contained in the *Sommario della Causa fra Gesuiti e Cappuccini circa la priorità della Missione del Tibet*, printed in Rome in 1728. Among them is the famous letter to Father Ildebrando Grassi, dated Lhasa, 10th April, 1716. It was translated by Du Halde in *Lettres Edifiantes*, Paris, 1843, vol. iii, p. 151 (Wessels, p. 274, has *Lettres Edifiantes*, Lyons, 1819, vii, p. 259).

   This is the only document by which Desideri's travels were known till the MS. report was discovered in Pistoia.

   It has been published repeatedly in various translations: in English in Astley's *Collection of Voyages*, 1747, vol. iv, and again by Sir Clement Markham in his *Bogle and Manning* (Append., p. 302), giving as reference *Lettres Edifiantes*, vol. xv, p. 184. Astley's *Collection* was the original basis of the *Histoire générale des Voyages*, by Prévost (20 volumes, Paris, 1746–89), where the letter reappears (vol. vii, ch. vii). From the latter it was translated into German in vol. vii of *Allgemeine Historie der Reisen* (21 vols., Leipzig, 1747–77).

   This is the letter to which Desideri refers in Book III, ch. xxii, correcting the affirmations which he had subsequently found to be erroneous.

   The same *Sommario* has four other letters by Desideri, two addressed to the General of the Society from Leh, 5th August, 1715, and from Lhasa, 15th February, 1717; and two addressed to F. Felice da Montecchio, both from Takpo, 12th March and 4th August, 1718, all published by Puini, *Append.*, pp. 361–78.
4. Puini (*Introduction*, p. xlii) further mentions a letter from Lhasa, 13th February, 1717, published by Father Zaccaria in *Bibliotheca Pistoriensis*, p. 185.

5. *Notes sur le Tibet par le P. Hippolyte Desideri, recueillies par N. Delisle* (published by Klaproth in *Journal Asiatique*, 2me Série, viii, 1831, p. 117). A few notes on geographical names and details mentioned by Desideri. Klaproth does not say from what source Delisle collected them.
6. A report addressed to the Holy Father, dated 13th February, 1717, on his arrival and first stay in Tibet, in the Propaganda Library in Rome (mentioned by Puini, p. xlii).
7. A short letter addressed to the Pope from Kuti, 21st September, 1721, published by Puini (*Append.*, p. 382); and also in the *Rivista Europea* of De Gubernatis, July, 1876, p. 293.
8. A short MS. memoir. It is anonymous, but from its general scope it must certainly be attributed to Desideri. It has the title *Avvertimenti a' Missionari viaggiatori nel Tibet* (Biblioteca Vittorio Emanuele, Rome, Fondo Gesuitico, MS., 1384, No. 31), and was first published in 1876, with many slips and errors, by A. De Gubernatis in his *Rivista Europea* (vol. iii, ch. vii, p. 121), and was reproduced correctly by L. Foscolo Benedetto in a pamphlet printed for private circulation, Florence, 1928. It is mentioned by P. Pelliot in *T'oung Pao*, 1925–6, p. 388.

   It is a mere résumé of the concluding chapters, xvii–xx, of Book IV in MS. A of Wessels, and of f° 272–316 of the Fl. MS. of the Report. (See Preface, pp. 41–2).

THE REPORT

As explained in the Preface, there are three extant MSS. of the Report, all in Italian, written by various amanuenses. One was discovered by Puini, and two, the property of the S. of J., were first disclosed by C. Wessels.

1. The MS. discovered by Carlo Puini in 1875 in a private collection of Pistoia records has since passed into the National Library of Florence. Puini, who published the largest part of it in 1904, has described it in his Preface. The title of *Breve e succinto Ragguaglio del Viaggio alle Indie Orientali del Padre Ippolito Desideri della Compagnia di Gesú*, concerns very likely only the first few pages, which contain a summary of the journey East. It is a volume 4°, of 317 sheets, or 633 pages, written consecutively, without any division into parts or chapters, except the last portion of the MS. containing the description of the return journey, in which chapters suddenly appear, numbered XIII, XIV, and XV.

Puini recognized three different hands in the writing of the MS. Here and there are signs that the text was dictated, at least in parts (for instance in f° 39 v. "in the month of October, in fact

in March . . .”). There are a few discrepancies in dates, especially in the summary of the itinerary given at the beginning and repeated at the end of the book; for instance, the departure from Leh is given as 27th August in the *Introduction*, and as 17th August and 26th August at the end. Also the arrival at Tashigang is given as 7th September and 27th September, etc.

Professor Puini announced his discovery in the *Bollettino Italiano di Studi Orientali* for July, 1876, Florence, pp. 33–42; and it was also reported in the *Geographical Magazine* (edited by C. Markham, 1874–8), in vol. iii, 1876, pp. 21 and 253. In the interval between the discovery of the manuscript and its publication, during which, among other vicissitudes, it nearly became the property of the Hakluyt Society, Puini gave information of its contents in various partial publications:—

Il P. Ippolito Desideri e i suoi Viaggi, etc., Florence, 1899.

Viaggio nel Tibet del P. Ippolito Desideri. Rivista Geografica Italiana, Florence, vol. vii, December, 1900, p. 565.

Il P. Ippolito Desideri e i suoi Viaggi in India e nel Tibet (1712–27); and *Il Buddismo nel Tibet secondo la Relazione del P. I. Desideri*, in *Studi Italiani di Filologia Indo-Iranica*, edited by Pullé, Florence, 1899. vol. iii, pp. i–xxxiii, and 1–63, 113–52, ill.

A summary of the Itinerary of Desideri in *Giro del Mondo*, Bologna, 1900, No. IX.

And a few other articles.

Professor Serge Oldenburg, in an article on recent Tibetan literature in the *Journal of the Russian Department of Public Instruction*, of November, 1904, makes mention of three MS. reports of Desideri—the property of the Hakluyt Society, of the Biblioteca Magliabechiana of Florence, and of “one” of the Italian National Libraries. These evidently refer to the same MS., the one in the National Library of Florence.

2. Manuscript A of C. Wessels.

It is a volume of 430 pp., 10¼ × 12 inches, in good script, with a Preface, divided into three Books, subdivided into chapters, with a table of Contents. The volume ends with the pious invocation: “Laus Deo, Beatissimae Virgini Mariae ac Sto Francisco Xaverio, Indiarum Apostolo.” *Die 22 Junij*, 1728.

As mentioned in the Preface, the Table of Contents has four books. The third of them, dealing with the Religion of the Tibetans, divided into twenty chapters, does not appear in the volume.

Father Wessels believed this manuscript also to be the work of an amanuensis. But Father P. Tacchi Venturi (in his article “Desideri” in *Enciclopedia Italiana*, vol. xii, 1931) and Professor G. Vacca (*Manoscritti del Padre Ippolito Desideri*, in *Boll. R. Soc. Geog. Ital.*, Series vi, vol. ix, 1932, p. 524), by comparing it with letters undoubtedly written by Desideri, declare it to be by his hand.

Bound in the same volume, at the end of the MS., there are some printed Appendices with the title: *Alla Sacra Congregazione di Propaganda Fide: Difesa I, II, III*; controversial papers of the Society of Jesus refuting the accusations of the Capuchin Father Felice da Montecchio on the question of the priority of the Jesuits and Capuchins in the Mission of Tibet, published in Rome in 1728.

3. Manuscript B of C. Wessels.

It is of the same size as the Fl. MS., numbers 564 pp., and seems to be nearly a replica of the Fl. MS., with many erasions, corrections and additions, and divided into books and chapters; and appears to be a copy of the latter rearranged for the preparation of MS. A. It also contains the description of the religion of Tibet, divided into two sections or groups of chapters, separated by other matter. For further details of contents, see Wessels, pp. 279–81.

4. As mentioned by C. Wessels (p. 206, note 1), Carl Ritter (*Asien*, vol. ii, p. 434) used a MS. of Desideri's Report, but gives no particulars.

According to Professor Vacca (l.c.), there is evidence to prove that Ritter made use of a copy prepared for him from Wessels, MS. A, which at that date (1826) was kept in one of the libraries of Rome.

DESIDERI'S TIBETAN MSS.

In the possession of the S. of J. there are four MS. books written by Desideri in Tibetan, described by C. Wessels (pp. 274–5), who gives the facsimiles of two pages, covered with beautiful Tibetan handwriting.

They are on sheets of paper of the oblong, rectangular shape usual in the pages of Tibetan books, and three of them are dated. One MS. has 1st July, 1717, on the first page, and 29th July, 1721, on the last page; another is dated from 8th December, 1717, to 21st June, 1718. A third has only an opening date—24th June, 1718. The fourth is undated.

Desideri only mentions three of these books in his Report (Book I, chaps. xiii and xv); and of the first he writes that it was finished at the end of December, 1716, and presented to the Viceroy on 6th January, 1717.

INTRODUCTION

THE JESUIT MISSION IN TIBET, 1625–1721

by

C. WESSELS, S.J.

THE JESUIT MISSION IN TIBET

1625–1721

THE foundation of the first Catholic mission in Tibet dates from 1625, Father Antonio de Andrade being its founder.

It was a rumour constantly cropping up in Mogor that the unknown and inaccessible regions beyond the Himalaya mountains sheltered Christian communities, the scattered remains of evangelization in centuries long past. Father Antonio Monserrate had heard of them from travelling Jogis as early as the eighties of the sixteenth century,[1] and in 1602 they had been the occasion of Bento de Goes' journey.[2]

As reports of a similar nature had not ceased to come in, what could be more natural than a wish to inquire on the spot, and, in case the rumours should prove to be true, a desire to assist those neglected brethren of the faith? Even in 1599, when the negotiations that eventually led to the despatch of Goes were being conducted, the Italian Father Antonio Mazzavelli had volunteered to be the first worker in this new field.[3] But circumstances had been unfavourable.

Quite unexpectedly there now presented itself an opportunity for a journey into the heart of the Himalaya mountains and thence into Tibet. On 30th March, 1624, Father de Andrade, together with Brother Manuel Marques, had left Agra to follow the Great Mogul on his journey to Kashmir. Arriving at Delhi, he learned that a large party of Hindus were about to start on a pilgrimage to a famous temple in the mountains at a distance of about two and a half months' journey from Agra. Here was an

opportunity. These pilgrims might serve for protection and guidance in the first part of the journey meditated. On the morning fixed for the departure, Andrade, his companion, and two servants joined the caravan. A Hindu disguise, in which even the Delhi Christians failed to recognize him, was to see him through the first difficulties.

Travelling by the shortest route, probably through the valley of Ganges by Hardwar, "the Gate of Vishnu," the principal shrine of those northern parts, the caravan passed through Srinagar in Garhwal and reached Badrinath, one of the most sacred and most frequented Hindu temples of India. An account of the adventures and discoveries during the first part of this journey lies outside the scope of this chapter, and we will only record that Andrade and his companion negotiated the perilous Mana pass at an altitude of 18,390 feet, and in the beginning of August safely arrived at Chaparangue or Tsaparang, the capital of what was then the kingdom of Guge, in the valley of the Langtchen-Kamba, or Upper Sutlej.

The arrival of the stranger caused no slight commotion. At first, the king, unable to believe that a man, not a trader, could undertake such a journey, was somewhat displeased, but after the first interview, at which the missionary explained the reason of his coming, both he and the queen showed themselves quite pleased. A religious conviction prompting such deeds of daring did not fail to impress him. Andrade availed himself of this favourable disposition to further the object of his journey of exploration. He became aware that there were no forlorn Christians to be assisted, but a new mission field might be opened among the pagan population of these remote regions. The following document bears witness to the success with which he carried through these initial negotiations. It was given in writing under

the king's seal, when, probably in the last week of August, Andrade was allowed to leave under promise of a speedy return.

"We, the King of the Kingdoms of Potente, rejoicing at the arrival in our lands of Padre Antonio Franguim [the name of the Portuguese in India] to teach us a holy law, take him for our Chief Lama, and give him full authority to teach the holy law to our people. We shall not allow that anyone molest him in this, and we shall issue orders that he be given a site and all the help needed to build a house of prayer. Moreover, we shall give no credence to any malicious accusations of the Moors against the Padres, because we know that, as they have no law [religion] they oppose those who follow the truth. We earnestly desire the great Padre [the Provincial at Goa] to send us at once the said Padre Antonio that he may be of assistance to our peoples.

Given at Chaparangue", etc.

At the beginning of November, the indefatigable traveller was back in Agra, and on the 8th completed his account of the first journey to the land of the living Buddha.[4]

A. The Mission in Guge

The great Padre, Father André Palmeiro, readily granted the king's request. Andrade was given three men as a first support, but as they could not reach Agra in the summer of 1625, he had Father Gonzales de Sousa appointed as his travelling-companion.[5] They set out together on 17th June, 1625.[6]

After a ten weeks' journey, once more through Garhwal, Tsaparang was reached a second time on 20th August. In a short letter of 10th September Andrade informs his Superior of the happy news,

adding that Father de Sousa will write at greater length and give him more detailed information. As a matter of fact de Sousa was the bearer of this letter, when he returned to India, and Andrade alone remained behind with the two boys " whom I took from here to Agra and brought back with me this time ".

The establishment of a permanent station could now be taken in hand. The king made good his promise and himself urged, in April, 1626, the building of a church and of a house for the missionaries. An excellent site was secured in the town near the king's palace. Its position protected it from the cold and it had the sun upon it from early morning. The natives living on the spot had their dwellings pulled down, but were given better houses elsewhere. To secure greater privacy the road passing near the place was turned in another direction. The king razed to the ground two of his own houses that the Fathers might have a garden with flowers for the church, and on Easter Day, 12th April, 1626, himself laid the foundation stone of the first Christian church in Tibet, while at the same time he presented the mission with a large gift of gold. The church was dedicated to Our Lady of Hope.[7]

The building operations were not yet completed when Andrade saw his solitude relieved by the arrival of the three Fathers who had not been able to catch the season the year before. Under the guidance of Brother Marques, they reached Tsaparang probably about June. Andrade himself went to meet them at some days' distance from the town.[8] They were the Fathers João de Oliveira,[9] Alano dos Anjos,[10] and Francisco Godinho.[11]

The general prospects of the mission are touched upon in the same letter of 15th August, 1626. The work of conversion, he says, is necessarily slow owing to the great difficulties in learning the language. The

people seem to be amenable, and Andrade extols their unsophisticated minds and simple dispositions. Though the country is less thickly inhabited than other parts, than Hindustan for example, this is counterbalanced by the fact that on account of its seclusion it is more free from vice, and thus better ready for conversion. Moreover, this country is the gate to many other kingdoms, which are more populous and differ but slightly in respect of language. In this connection Utsang is specially mentioned, whose sovereign has been asked to grant permission for a marriage between one of his daughters and the crown-prince. " I see in this the work of Providence, who thus opens to us a gate into that country. I hope to make the best of this opportunity in the coming year, when the Fathers, who have recently arrived, will be well grounded in the language, which to my great satisfaction they are now studying with great diligence." [12]

In a letter to the General a year later, Andrade returned to the subject of Utsang, whose king had sent him a firman and a letter of invitation. At the same time the presence of the " Lamas of the West " had also become known in other neighbouring states, for the king of Ladakh wished to see him.[13] Whether those invitations were ever acted upon, it is impossible to say, though it is very unlikely. The only thing we know about work outside Tsaparang is the foundation of a mission post at Rudok, the capital of a district of the same name, situated at the northern base of the Transhimalaya mountains and the southern shore of the Nyak-tso, its governor being a vassal of the king of Tsaparang. None of the accounts throw any light on the question as to what may have induced Andrade thus early to found a new centre in this remote district, over 100 miles away from Tsaparang, nor do they make any mention of the work of conversion that was being carried on.[14]

After the arrival then of the above-mentioned fellow-labourers, there were, in August, 1626, five missionaries in Guge. But before Christmas of the same year, Brother Marques returned to Hindustan, while Father Godinho, too, on account of ill-health, must have left soon after.[15] It remains a puzzle, how a man, still an invalid, or at least weakened by illness, managed to cross the mountains in mid-winter. Towards the end of 1627 his place was taken by Father Antonio Pereira,[16] as is related by himself in a letter of 12th November of the same year. From Agra onward it was again Brother Marques who guided the party. Together with this letter two others were despatched from Tsaparang, one of the 10th by Father dos Anjos, and another of the 16th, by Father de Oliveira. Both of them were addressed to the Provincial, Father Valentin Carvalho. The latter had been rather unfavourably advised from Agra about the Tibetan mission, and as a result he had ordered the two Fathers to send him full information as to the possibilities of mission work in Tibet. Having been on the spot for about a year and a half, the two were certainly the best judges. In their replies, while admitting that life out there is trying and full of hardship, they are quite sanguine about the future. "This country promises more than any other I have yet heard of, for they are a tractable and upright people," so Oliveira writes.[17] In dos Anjos' opinion "it will be one of the most flourishing [missions] which the Society possesses to-day".[18] He does not hide the fact that so far the number of baptized is very small, only twelve, but then it should be remembered that by regular religious instruction many are preparing for this great event. The queen and one of her cousins, daughter of the king of Ladakh,[19] probably to be married to the prince, will be baptized one of these days. In other missions years may pass before the first baptism

is administered. Moreover, do we not know that the Apostle James made only seven converts during the years which he spent in Spain? And he was an Apostle who supported his teaching with miracles and had the gift of tongues.

It was the unchanging favourable attitude of the king on which both writers mainly founded their expectations. This they are careful to state most explicitly. It was he who in everything was the great support of the missionaries, of which Andrade in 1626 and 1627 had already cited numerous instances.[20]

But by its very conspicuousness this pronounced royal favour carried with it an element of danger that was probably overlooked by the zealous missionaries. The powerful lama monasteries, with the king's brother at their head, could not but look askance at all this kindness lavished upon the new-comers. The utmost caution was demanded if they were not to be driven into open resistance. This caution, however, was decidedly lacking in the various measures taken by the king. Thus, in 1626, or 1627, he had taken away from his brother, the Chief Lama, a large portion of his revenue, because he had received into the fraternity of lamas one hundred and thirty new candidates. The king's excuse was that, if his brother continued thus, he would deprive him of all his soldiers. He even had in mind a complete secularization of the lamas in general.[21] No wonder that such drastic measures called forth resistance. Still, a violent explosion might have been averted had Andrade been able to remain on the spot. But just about this time, it is not certain in what year, but certainly before 1630, he was recalled from Tibet to take upon him the honourable task of governing the whole mission province of Goa.[22] Thus the Tsaparang mission, in losing its energetic and enterprising head, sustained a loss that could not be compensated for by the solicitude and care of a distant Superior. His

antagonists seized the opportunity, and within a short time after his departure, in the same year, 1630, a revolution broke out, which put an end to the reign of the friendly king.

The course of events is related by Cordara,[23] but was described with greater fullness of detail by Andrade himself, when on 4th February, 1633, he despatched from Goa an account of the missions of Mogor and Tibet to the General of the Society at Rome. According to this document, the storm broke during a protracted illness of the king. First some vassals in the Himalaya mountains rose in revolt; then some powerful military commanders rebelled, calling the king of Ladakh to their support. The latter, who for many years had been embroiled with Guge over a marriage question, seized the opportunity at once. Siege was laid to the almost impregnable capital, and after a month the king was treacherously seized and carried off to Leh.[24]

The effects of this political upheaval were crushing for the mission. The church and house at Tsaparang were sacked, and the missionaries themselves had much to suffer from the ill-will of the military commander appointed by the King of Ladakh. Some of the faithful saved themselves by flight, others were dragged off into exile. This was also the fate of the two Fathers stationed at Rudok. Soon after their arrival at Leh, however, they were restored to liberty and sent back to Tsaparang, where the others had been allowed to remain. As far as can be judged from contemporary accounts the staff on the Tibet mission at the time of the outbreak consisted of four missionaries, viz. Fathers de Oliveira, dos Anjos, da Fonseca and Brother Marques.[25]

Early in 1631, still unaware of the fatal turn of events, Andrade had despatched the above-mentioned Father Pereira with two companions, Fathers Domenico Capece[26] and Francesco Morando,[27] to the distant

mission. But when the first tidings reached him he at once appointed Father Francisco de Azevedo[28] Visitor to the mission with orders to proceed thither and report on the situation. Azevedo overtook the three at Agra and ordered them to stay and await instructions, whilst he himself proceeded to Tsaparang, where he arrived 25th August, 1631, in the company of Marques, whom he had met in Garhwal.

The forlorn state in which he found the much tried Christian community soon convinced him that ordinary measures would not suffice, and after taking the opinion of the missionaries on the spot, he resolved to take a bold step. It was impossible to do anything there, as the commander appointed by the king of Ladakh was very hostile. So he made up his mind to go to Leh, accompanied by Father de Oliveira, that he might have a personal interview with the king and, if possible, secure his goodwill. His suit was successful, and the king granted permission to pursue mission work in Guge, Rudok, and even at Leh. Without going back to Tsaparang the two missionaries returned to India by way of Rupshu, Lahul, and Kulu. On 3rd January, 1632, they were back at Agra.[29]

For the next few years, up to 1635, information about the state of affairs at Tsaparang is very scanty. What little we have is mainly obtained from letters of an Italian, Father Giuseppe de Castro, who at the time was in Bengal, and at a later period at Agra. On 28th August, 1632, he writes that there are five Fathers actually in Tibet, and that there are two more at Agra, who are intended for that country. "Three days ago," he writes half a year later, 6th February, 1633, "we received letters from the mission in Tibet. The five Fathers who are there tell us that they are like prisoners in their house, because the commander does not allow them to come back here, or to leave the place where they are, or to carry anything out

of the house without his seeing it." We learn nothing further about the fate of the scattered Christian community. When he writes again 8th October, 1633, things are still in the same state.[30]

Andrade meanwhile had been thoroughly informed of the state of things and was going back to Tsaparang in person. Six others were to go with him. But while he was still in the midst of his preparations, he suddenly died, 19th March, 1634, with symptoms of poisoning. Thus he was not to see the utter destruction of his foundation.[31]

The projected journey was now delayed for a year, and in the beginning of 1635 the six missionaries set out from Goa under the leadership of Father Nuño Coresma.[32] Copies of three of his letters to the Provincial of Goa, Father Alvaro de Tavarez, have been preserved, so we are fairly fully acquainted with what befell the missionaries.

The undertaking, then, was an utter failure, a series of reverses and disasters, which might have dashed the spirits of the most ardent. A terrible famine which made itself felt as far as Garhwal and Tibet raised the cost of living to such a point that the journey from Surat to Tsaparang cost no less than 3,000 rupees. But this was as nothing compared to the loss of life and of health. "Of my six companions, only one reached Chaparangue with me. Two died on the way, and the other three became so ill that it would have been inhuman to have taken them further and let them die in this desolate country."[33] With Father Correa as his only companion, Coresma went on.

In circumstances such as these, to have taken up the reins of government and to have raised to a new life a scattered and ruined mission would have required a man of more virile energy and power of sacrifice than Coresma, from his letters, would seem to have possessed. Both the country and the people

fell far short of his expectations. He literally finds nothing to commend in the whole of Guge and does not pretend to disguise his disappointment.

"The population is very small, as appears from the fact that from the whole of the territory, which through lack of knowledge and experience has been called Cathayo or Tibet, it is impossible to assemble 2,000 warriors, though all are obliged to serve from their eighteenth to their eightieth year. The others are lamas. . . In this town, the residence of the king, the mercantile emporium for the whole country, it is impossible to count up more than 500 inhabitants, of whom a hundred are slaves of the rajah. . . The people in general are incapable of understanding and realizing anything of the mysteries of our faith. They are very poor and uncivilized and rude to a degree I have never yet seen or read of . . . There is not a shadow of any religious sense; they only frequent their temples to eat and drink." [34]

The authorities were rather hostile than friendly, and it was only the hope of presents that withheld them from turning the strangers out of the country at once. And without the king's favour, mission work was without any prospects in such a remote country, where the influence of Portugal could not make itself felt, and where the people were so dependent on the ruler as to be practically his slaves. The utter poverty of the country, too, made it, in his opinion, quite impossible to provide for the material sustenance of the missionaries. "Trees are entirely wanting, not only fruit trees, but even trees for firewood. There are no herbs to serve as food, only a little barley and corn." Supplies from Hindustan or Srinagar could only be obtained at prohibitive cost; "the carriage of a quantity of rice bought for one rupee at Srinagar is ten or twelve rupees, as everything has to be carried along the passes."

As to the Christian community, his verdict is, if

possible, still more unfavourable. In ten years' time the Fathers have not administered a hundred baptisms, and even of these converts the greater part had been among the retainers either of the mission or of the king.[35] The small remnant that had survived the persecution was badly instructed and entirely destitute, so that they were dependent on the mission for support. To his mind the sacrifices that had already been made and would have yet to be made were out of all proportion to the scanty harvest that might be expected. So the conclusion which he submits to his Superiors for approval and execution is that the mission be relinquished. Father Correa, therefore, again crossed the Himalaya into India to carry this report to Goa. If by May, 1636, no communication should have reached Tsaparang—a thing well nigh impossible, considering the approach of winter and the immense distances to be covered—he [Coresma] would take it as a hint, and together with Brother Marques, the last left of his companions, undertake the return journey to Hindustan.[36]

This explicit statement that Coresma stayed behind with Brother Marques as his only companion, at once raises the question as to the whereabouts of the other five missionaries, who, Castro informed us, were still there in 1633. When and how had they quitted the country? Unfortunately these questions must be left unanswered, as the letters are silent on this point. They may reasonably be supposed to have been sent back by Coresma himself.

Another remark concerns Coresma's haste in judging of the state of the mission and concluding to the impossibility of working it, Having left Goa at the beginning of 1635, his arrival in Guge cannot be placed earlier than June or July, whilst his letter is dated 30th August. He had thus at most two months to acquaint himself with and enter into an exceedingly difficult state of affairs. As painted by him this

state was, indeed, far from promising, and must no doubt be considered as the backwash of the revolutionary agitations. The question, however, remains whether the writer, soured it may be by trouble and adversity, did not see only the dark side of the picture and form his judgment with undue haste and insufficient experience. Though the rapid development of events would seem to justify Coresma, yet in the man himself we look in vain for the energy and will-power of an Andrade and an Azevedo, for the resolve and steadfastness of purpose which remains unperturbed in the midst of a trying situation. In the circumstances he would not seem to have been the right man in the right place.

From a third letter of Coresma's, dated Agra, 14th December, 1635, we learn that soon after Correa's departure the situation at Tsaparang became worse than ever, so much so that he and Marques were kept prisoners in their house by a strong body of soldiers, who cut off all communication with the outside world. Finally they were banished from the country and arrived at Agra, 11th December, 1635.[37]

Meanwhile the Provincial Father Tavarez, at Goa, had on receipt of the two letters of 30th August, put the question before his advisers, all of whom recommended the abandonment of the mission on account of the unsatisfactory results and the impossibility of increasing the support.[38] The advice was acted upon, but at the same time Tavarez made some provision for a possible turn of events by directing Pereira and dos Anjos to Srinagar in Garhwal in June, 1636, to devote themselves to the conversion of the Tibetan inhabitants and to return to Tsaparang as soon as circumstances would permit.[39] Dos Anjos had no sooner arrived at Srinagar than he fell ill, and died shortly afterwards, in January, 1637.[40] Father Stanislao Malpichi, a Neapolitan, went to fill his place. He advised Father de Castro of his safe

arrival, adding that " the governor of Chaparangue wrote to the petty king of Srinagar complaining that he detained the Fathers, that he wrote to the Fathers inviting them to come to Tibet, that he is keeping their house and church intact with their other possessions and animals ".[41] All this, however, raised no sanguine expectations, as appears from Castro's remark a few months later : " Though we have some news from Tibet that the King wishes again to receive us, we cannot fully trust him." [42]

Several among the missionaries were far from approving of the abandonment of the mission. There has survived a strong and lengthy remonstrance from Father Antonio Mendez, written probably in 1636 to Father Muzio Vitelleschi, the General of the Society of Jesus. What he chiefly complains of is the fact that on the evidence merely of one single adverse report an enterprise that till then had always been favourably spoken of had at once been condemned and abandoned—that in the teeth of all the preceding good accounts its people were suddenly considered to be incapable of understanding and realizing the teachings of the Faith, and the difficulties were rated as too heavy for the missionaries to bear. Take the Indian tribes for instance. Were *they* more amenable to the Gospel ? Or the " Cafri " in Africa ? Danger and hardship are the appendage of every mission. They had never daunted a St. Paul or a Xavier. Was the situation better in Ethiopia, where bishop and missionaries stood unflinching in spite of everything. Yet the missionaries in Tibet had run away, etc.

The General, persuaded by their arguments, cancelled Tavarez' decision and ordered him to send a fresh expedition to Tibet. As the order reached Goa only when the provincial had died, the matter was taken in hand by his successor, Father Manuel d'Almeida, who appointed to the task three Portuguese Fathers with Brother Marques as their guide.[43]

Travelling by way of Agra they joined Malpichi at Srinagar in 1640.[44] Here they waited while Malpichi and Marques took the road of Tsaparang to find out what reliance could be placed upon the king's repeated request for missionaries. They were not kept waiting long. Very soon, Cordara tells us,[45] Malpichi returned alone, bringing the bad news that Tibet was permanently closed. On crossing the Mana pass both himself and his companion had been taken prisoners; an opportunity of escaping had presented itself, which both had seized, but Marques had been captured, and for his release a heavy ransom was now exacted. He had it on trustworthy authority that both king and people, excited by the lamas, were very hostile to the Christians, and that all the buildings, except the church built by Andrade, had been razed to the ground.

Father de Castro also mentions this venture of Malpichi and Marques. "The king wished the return of our Fathers, but only in the hope of getting from them many rich presents, which it would be impossible for ours to give him."[46] He is silent about the imprisonment and escape of Malpichi, but supplies some further details about Marques' stay at Tsaparang. "The Brother is still all alone in Tibet, where he occupies the house which we have at Chaparangue. A few days ago I received from him letters written in the months of August and October of last year (1641) in which he told me that because he wanted to go away from there he was very badly treated and injured, so much so, indeed, that humanly speaking he had no hope of getting away."[47]

At the request of Marques himself de Castro made a last effort to obtain his release. From the father of the Queen of Lahore he secured a letter of recommendation for the king of Tsaparang, in which the latter was entreated to allow his prisoner to depart to Agra. The answer was a refusal. The list of names

of the Goa province for 1641 has a note to the effect that one of the Fathers is staying at Srinagar (Garhwal) to negotiate his release, and from the catalogue of 1647, the next available after 1641, the name of Manuel Marques is altogether absent; hence his fate is still unknown.[48]

Of the mission buildings nothing is left. In 1912 Mr. G. Mackworth Young examined very minutely all that remains of the royal capital in the valley of the Langtchen-Kamba. At the request of Father Henry Hosten, S.J., the well-known writer on the history of the mission in India, he also made a careful search for any possible traces of the ancient mission station. Though the inquiry was conducted on the basis of data furnished by Father Hosten from the writings of Andrade, no results were obtained. "I entered every house in the city that I could, but found no trace of a church or mission. Most of the houses are amazingly well preserved although the roof timbers have been taken long ago for fuel, except in the temples themselves. The lamas no doubt abolished the mission buildings just as thoroughly as they wiped out the king's name from their chronicles. Judging by Andrade's account, the church must have been somewhere near what is now the Dzongpon's house. The inhabitants profess, truthfully I daresay, to have no tradition whatever of the Jesuits or the king's conversion. I had already sounded the Dzongpon when I met him at Shangtze; I tried him again now, but with no better success."[49]

No trace, therefore, remains, save perhaps one solitary object, of which Young also speaks at the end of his account. "A row of whitewashed 'chortens' stands near the Dzongpon's house. One of them, some forty feet high, towers above the rest; and on its summit there lies horizontally a weather-beaten cross of wood. It may be that the chorten was being built while the lamas were demolishing the church

close by, and that some one carelessly, or perhaps thinking to lay up treasure for himself in two heavens, planted the rejected emblem on the Buddhist tomb. In all else the work of destruction was complete and nothing is left to remind men that a Christian once reigned in Tibet." [50]

B. The Mission in Utsang

When Father de Andrade, during his second stay at Tsaparang in 1625, was actively engaged in gathering more accurate and detailed information about the extent and the state of Tibet, he learned from merchants coming from China of the existence of a great country, Utsang, situated it was said at one and a half months' journey east of Tsaparang.[51] To him this meant a possible new mission field, and in his letter of 15th August, 1626, he spoke of the venture he was meditating in that direction for the coming year, when the Fathers who had lately arrived would be well grounded in Tibetan.[52] Even before this he had written to India suggesting that an attempt to reach those more easterly territories should be made from Bengal,[53] the field of operation of the Malabar Province of the Society, with its headquarters at Cochin. The Superior there must have acted on the suggestion without delay, for as early as 30th April, 1626, the Fathers Estevão Cacella[54] and João Cabral,[55] together with an Italian lay-brother, Bartolomeo Fonteboa,[56] set out on their remarkable journey to the land of the Dalai Lama.

Their first object was the present town of Hugli, situated on a branch of the Ganges delta, where the mission had an establishment, and where information for the further journey could be gathered.[57] They were very sanguine at what they were told. Cacella

writes to Father Alberto Laertius at Cochin : " The road to Cathay is much frequented and offers no serious hindrances, whilst the people are said to behave as if they were Christians. He will, therefore, go to Cocho by Siripur, where he hopes to meet the Cathayans and to join them on their return to their country in October." [58]

He was soon to find things less smooth. At Hajo, the capital of Cocho at the time, no one knew anything of Cathay, and the travellers were advised first to cross the mountains of Potente. For further information the king referred them to his son, who ruled at Cooch Behar. From this place they were to proceed to Runate (Rangamati), which formed the Cocho border-territory towards Potente. The advice was followed and when, on 28th October, Runate was reached, they fell in with eight natives of this country. Great was their disappointment on learning that at this season there was no way of crossing the mountains. It was not till four months later, 21st February, 1627, that the two missionaries could leave Runate, and through Buxa Duar continue their way to Tibet. Brother Fonteboa meanwhile had died at Hugli, whither he had been ordered to return.

Their road took them across the unknown territory of Bhutan, on which no European had set foot. The entertainment given them by the Dharma Rajah, king and spiritual head of the country, was extremely kind. All the things they learned about the people and the country, its language and religion, were interesting to a degree, but they never lost sight of their main purpose, conversion to Christianity ; and they were not slow to perceive that in this direction there was little chance of success. So they proposed to their host that they should leave the country and join Andrade at Tsaparang. They had been told that this place was not more than a month's journey away ; they had even had occasional news of the

Fathers there, not indeed directly, for the Fathers there seemed to be still unaware of their new neighbours, but through lamas coming from thence. But the king was piqued at the suggestion, for did not all the neighbouring countries know that they were his guests and that he considered this a great honour? Their departure would cast a slur upon him. Feeling, however, that he had to do something, he gave them leave to preach, promising to build them a church and a house at the town of Paro. The two then acquiesced, but after some further experience it was resolved that Cacella should go, whilst Cabral was to stay if the king made good his promise.[59]

As Cacella was well aware that the Dharma Rajah would not grant him a gracious leave, he determined to dispense with it and to take the first opportunity of escaping from this enforced detention. It presented itself one day when the king had gone out to survey the site destined for the erection of the church. A lama, who was not quite friendly to the king and who was acquainted with the king of Uçangue (Utsang), supplied him with the necessary equipment and escort, and in twenty days Cacella reached Gigagi (Shigatse), where the king resided. Being kindly received, he sent for Cabral, backed by letters from the king to the Dharma Rajah. Very unwillingly the latter allowed the departure, on 18th December, 1627, but owing to some delay on the road Cabral was not able to join Cacella till 3rd January, 1628.

On the day after Cabral's arrival the two missionaries were admitted into the king's presence. He showed himself quite pleased at their coming, which is not surprising, after his invitation to Father Andrade at Tsaparang in 1627.[60] The next day at a more official audience, they unfolded the object of their coming. Upon which the Great Lama, with the king's approval, issued a proclamation permitting them to preach their

religion without let or hindrance. Moreover, the king offered them a suitable residence, and made ample provision for their sustenance, and being unacquainted with their habits and wants, appointed a page to inform him if at any time they should be in need of anything.

For all these happy beginnings, difficulties were not slow in coming. Presently there appeared at the court two lamas, disciples of the Dharma Rajah, and, as was soon evident, emissaries of the latter, to make the stay of the two missionaries impossible. They first endeavoured to see the king personally, but on failing in this, they made use of go-betweens. Their main object was to rouse against the newcomers the numerous lamas of the town by giving out that they had only come to pull down their pagodas and destroy their religion. Fortunately none of the principal lamas, who were generally in attendance on the king, were at court just now. But things were bad enough as they were, and enough reached the king's ears to render him more reserved towards them.

Meanwhile, the two Fathers kept an eye on the future. Twenty months had passed since, starting from Cochin, they had reached this remote region. The road had been dangerous and uncertain, and from their experience in Bhutan they were well aware that through that country no regular communication could be kept up with their base in India. A fresh route must be opened, and this without delay. Cabral, young and strong, took this task upon himself, and left before the end of January. In reading his account of this journey we are scarcely, or perhaps not at all, impressed when coming across the name of Nepal; but in 1628, this mountain state was still absolutely unknown to the West, so that, as far as can be ascertained, Cabral was the first European to visit and traverse it. The king of Utsang gave him a captain to conduct him. The latter was the bearer of letters

and presents for the king of Nepal, who was earnestly requested to help the traveller in whatever he might need. "This was done by the king of Nepal, and very kindly he directed me to Patana [Patna], where I fell in with some Portuguese, with whom I have come to Gulim [Hugli], from where I write this letter." [61] This is all Cabral has to say about this winter journey across the highest mountain range on earth. The reader is left to imagine those paths and passes buried under deep snow at an altitude of many thousand feet, and in the midst of these the lonely traveller with his one or two guides whose language he hardly understands, and thence to form his judgment of the grit and intrepidity required to undertake it and carry it through. As they were the bearers of letters for the king of Nepal, their road no doubt went by Katmandu, whither ninety-three years later Father Desideri was to direct his steps on quitting Lhasa.

Cabral considered the new station at Shigatse to be of first-rate importance. "It is the gate to the whole of Tartary, China, and many other pagan countries," he writes in the same letter. He certainly could not have expected that this missionary effort in Tibet was likewise shortly to end in failure. The actual course of events is only known in its general outlines. It is given in another letter of Cabral's, which he wrote from Shigatse in 1631, probably at the end of July, to the Fathers of Tsaparang, and which has been summarized in the report of Father de Azevedo, of whom we spoke above.[62]

It comes to this. While after his journey through Nepal, Cabral was staying at Hugli to settle some affairs, there arrived Father Manuel Diaz, with orders from Father Laertius, the Provincial in Cochin, to go to the mission, if Father Cacella should send for some Fathers. As the latter had not asked for any, Cabral objected to Diaz' departure. These difficulties protracted his stay at Hugli so long that he missed the

favourable season to return to Nepal. So in the late autumn of 1628, he went to Cocho with Father Diaz, from where he sent word to Cacella with a request for a royal escort. For in order to avoid the Bhutan route he wanted to go through Chumbi, between Bhutan and Sikkim, but this country having no regular government, it could not be traversed without the protection of an escort. The message, however, did not find Cacella at Shigatse. Waiting in vain for Cabral's return, and probably concluding that the latter's effort to establish communication with Bengal had failed, he had first tried to reach Tsaparang. When the heavy snows forced him to return, he set out for Bengal, and there, probably at Hugli, he learned how things had gone.

Although he was so ill that he could hardly stand, he immediately pushed on for Cocho in order to overtake the two travellers. Here he left Father Cabral, with the heavy baggage, promising to send for him in January, while he himself, with Father Diaz, set out in September, 1629. The journey was attended with its usual difficulties, and the fatigue and hardships so told on Father Diaz, accustomed though he was to the Indian climate, that he died on 3rd November in the kingdom of Morang.[63] Cacella was also worn out. More dead than alive, he managed to drag himself on and to reach Shigatse, where only seven days after his arrival, even before he had seen the king, God took him on 6th March, 1630.[64]

The king was deeply impressed by his death, and at once sent for Cabral to Cocho, but the latter hesitated to act on the invitation, and begged to be excused on account of the unfavourable season. The next year, 1631, the king repeated his request by sending an escort, upon which Cabral resolved to go in order not to offend him, and not to leave the goods of the church in his hands. He was well received on arriving. Meanwhile, he had come to see clearly on

the one hand that continuance and development of this advance and forlorn post would be impossible independent of a base, and on the other that communication with Cochin was extremely difficult. Moreover, the new Provincial Father Gaspar Fernandez, who from the beginning had shown himself but little inclined to continue the mission, would certainly relinquish it on hearing of the death of the two Fathers. He (Cabral) had suggested that Shigatse should be placed under the jurisdiction of the Superior at Tsaparang. Hence his letter to Father de Azevedo at this place that he might be fully informed of the state of affairs. It was for him, too, to decide, all things considered, whether it was desirable to establish a permanent station there to which the king would not object.

This plan commended itself to Azevedo, especially because it was in Utsang that the great schools of the lamas were found, and before setting out for Leh he may have instructed the missionaries of Tsaparang to communicate with Shigatse. Though we cannot attain to certainty on this point, we may quote here from a letter of Father de Castro, written from Mogol on 8th August, 1632, in which with reference to the Tsaparang mission he says : " According to letters received here the Superior has gone to another mission station established by the Fathers of the Cochin Province in the town of Uçangue, where the principal king of all the kingdoms that border on China resides, who greatly favours the mission." How this affair was further negotiated we do not know ; there is nothing more in any letters, private or official, referring in any way to this enterprise.

If we are to believe Cordara,[65] whose notes on the whole of this undertaking are incomplete and unreliable, Cabral's apprehensions that the Provincial might be unwilling to continue the enterprise were well founded, and he was recalled to Malabar. But

whether recalled or not, he was certainly back at Hugli in 1632, where he was an eye-witness and nearly a victim of the siege and sack of this settlement by Shah Jehan's army, as he himself informed his Provincial in a long letter written from Ceylon, 12th November, 1633. But there is not a word in this letter about his further experiences at Shigatse. It is only Coresma who in his report of 30th August, 1635, on the state and prospects of the mission of Tsaparang touches once more on the subject of Utsang. That in his opinion this enterprise, too, was to be written off as impracticable will not surprise the reader ; as for Guge so for Utsang, his verdict was unfavourable : the risks were too great, the promise of success was too uncertain, the king's only object was to obtain presents from the missionaries . . . therefore, let the mission be relinquished.

This settled the matter, and the mission was given up.[66]

C. Fresh Efforts

Thus both attempts at spreading the Gospel in Western and Central Tibet had miscarried. Brother Marques remained in bonds at Tsaparang and at far-away Shigatse there was no one to take up Cacella's work and pray over his lonely grave. Though nothing was done in the ensuing years the missionaries in India never forgot those earlier attempts. As a kind of advanced post they continued and developed mission work at Srinagar among the Garhwal mountains ; they never quite relinquished all hope of going back some time in the future, but they had to wait for the man of push and position required to take the matter up. Such a man was found in Father Miguel de Amaral.[67]

On 30th March, 1704, he was appointed Visitor to the Goa mission-province, and on studying the situation he resolved to re-establish the Tsaparang mission. Father Manuel Monteiro was commissioned to inquire at Agra about the most suitable route and gauge the chances of success of a fresh effort. When he died in 1707, he had not done more than gather some information from Armenian traders about the most practicable roads.

When in 1706 de Amaral was relieved of his post it looked as if the plan had been abandoned. But when he was again appointed, in 1707, two young Goa missionaries, Fathers Carvalho and Gill, certain of Amaral's support, wrote to the General and volunteered for the Tibetan mission.[68] Among the various reasons advanced by Father Gill in favour of a return to the old mission, he specially stresses the fact that the people there still remember the Christian faith. As regards the expense, so he writes, the necessary funds are in hand, since the Tibet mission has its own resources to draw on, which are now diverted to the poor of Agra. Moreover, a half-Portuguese lady, who is a friend of the queen of Mogor, has promised to take all the expense upon herself. On 15th December, 1708, the Provincial, Father Manuel Sarayva, informed the General that at the instance of Father de Amaral he had appointed João Carvalho and Pedro de Torres for Tibet, but had been forced by the death of two missionaries in Mysore to send them thither to supply the vacancies. Rome favoured and even urged the return to the old mission field, as appears from a letter of the General, Father Tamburini, of 6th July, 1709.[69]

Probably before receiving this letter, on 3rd January, 1710, Sarayva informed the General that Fathers Giuseppe Martinetti and Franz Borgia Koch had been charged to undertake a new venture from Agra. This also came to nothing, because Father Koch

died on 8th October, 1711,[70] and Father Martinetti was not up to his task.[71] The Provincial, however, did not allow matters to rest, and in November, 1713, he appointed the Italian, Father Ippolito Desideri, to re-establish the mission.

While Desideri was still studying at Rome, he had heard the accounts from India about a possible reopening of the Tibet mission, and had generously volunteered for this arduous task. His purpose was approved of and blessed by Pope Clement XI at a special audience in September, 1712. Immediately on his arrival in India, he offered himself again to the Provincial, and in his two letters of 12th and 15th November, 1713, he was enabled to tell the General the happy news that he had been chosen and destined for the new mission, and that he was delighted with the appointment. To be safe from surprise and a possible reversal, he urges the General to address him a special letter confirming the appointment, and ordering him explicitly to open the mission of Tibet, and to act in all this under direct responsibility to Rome.[72] Six weeks later he returns to this point.[73]

On arriving at Delhi to make the necessary arrangements, he met Father Emanuel Freyre, who had passed some twenty years in India, and now offered to accompany him into Tibet. One of the Agra missionaries would take his place at Delhi. When the Provincial had sanctioned this arrangement, and had appointed Freyre as leader of the expedition, they set out on their remarkable journey on 24th September, 1714. Their first object was Kashmir, whence they were to traverse Little Tibet or Baltistan, and thus to penetrate into Great Tibet or Ladakh, where they hoped to make a successful start in mission work.[74]

When they reached Leh, 26th June, 1715, a serious difficulty arose. The forty days' journey from Srinagar, where they had passed the winter of 1714–15, to the capital of Ladakh, had been so full of hardships,

that Freyre, accustomed to the Indian climate and worn with fatigue, wanted to throw up the undertaking and return to Mogor without delay. He did not care to take the road he had come. On inquiring about the possibility of going back by way of Srinagar and learning that this would take him through the mountains again, he cast about for other possible routes, and these investigations led to the discovery that besides Little and Great Tibet there was a greater one yet, the capital of which was Lhasa. It would take three months to reach. But then from that place Mogor would be easier to reach than from where he was now. Certainly he knew that there were Capuchins there who had been sent by the Congregation de Propaganda Fide. But this need not detain him, his main object being to get back to India.[75]

Quite naturally Desideri demurred at this faint-hearted withdrawal of his companion. He wanted to stand to their first plan and stop at Leh. Moreover, a journey to the third Tibet would be the more objectionable because there were already missionaries in that country ; their help, therefore, would not be needed. But Freyre persisted. If Desideri preferred to stay at Ladakh on his own responsibility, he (Freyre) would not thwart him, but himself would go to this third Tibet " where also Father Andrade had been ". Perforce Desideri had at last to yield ; to stay all by himself in this almost inaccessible land entirely cut off from India would serve no purpose. So he resolved to follow Freyre to Lhasa.[76]

After a two-months' stay, then, at Leh, the two continued their arduous journey across the Tibetan uplands, and at length, six months later, the roofs of the mighty Potala loomed before their eager eyes. On 18th March, 1716, they set foot within the holy city of Lhasa.

Freyre meanwhile had not changed his mind. On

his arrival he hardly allowed himself a few weeks' rest, and on 16th April, he returned to Hindustan through Nepal. Thus Desideri stayed behind, the only European at Lhasa.[77] For, on their arrival they had found no Capuchins. There had been, indeed, two such missionaries in 1707, and a third had arrived in 1709, the well-known Father Domenico da Fano, but want of the necessaries of life had compelled them to return.[78] It was not till 1st October, more than six months after Desideri's arrival, that another party of three reached the capital of Tibet *via* Nepal, where they were lodged by him in his house, and instructed in the language of the country.[79]

Desideri's labours in Tibet extended over a period of five years. At his first audience on 1st May, 1716, he obtained permission to preach and also to buy a house at Lhasa, a mark of special favour, since foreigners could only rent houses. With undivided zeal he now addressed himself to the study of the language. "From that day to the last which I passed in that kingdom, I studied from morning till night." Nor without success, for by the end of December of the same year he had finished an *exposé* of the Christian religion in Tibetan, which was presented to the king at an audience on 6th January, 1717. Acting on the advice of the latter to study the religion of the lamas in their own writings, he stayed from 25th March to the end of July, at the monastery of Ramo-cce. But since the best insight into the doctrinal part was to be obtained in the Universities, where lamas not only of Central Tibet, but from Ladakh, Tartary, and China thronged the lecture-halls, Desideri moved in August to the University of Sera at two miles' distance from Lhasa. Here he was comfortably housed and could say mass in his private oratory ; he had the free use of the libraries and could converse with the most learned among the professors.

His plan was to write in the Tibetan language a

refutation of the errors of their doctrine and a defence of the Catholic religion. But he had hardly set to work when he was interrupted by a violent catastrophe. The Tartars invaded the country, Lhasa was taken and sacked, and on 3rd December, 1717, the king and his ministers were murdered. Not thinking himself safe at Sera, Desideri retired to the province of Takpó-Khier at eight days' journey from the capital, where he found time and opportunity to finish his book. His retirement lasted till April, 1721, with the exception of a few months at Lhasa. In one of his visits to the capital he gave his book to read to his former teacher of Tibetan, one of the cleverest among the lamas. It consisted, he tells us, of three volumes. The first argued against the migration of souls as taught by Buddhism, the second attacked their wrong notion of the Godhead, the third, which was more constructive, gave in the form of a dialogue an exposition of the Christian doctrine.

The work caused a great stir, and "my house suddenly became the scene of incessant comings and goings by all sorts of people, chiefly learned men and professors, who came from the monasteries and Universities, especially from those of Sera and Breê-bung, the principal ones, to apply for permission to see and read the book".[80]

At Rome, meanwhile, in December, 1718, it had been settled within whose province lay the mission-territory of Tibet. Judgment went against the Jesuits and the General of the Society was ordered to recall his men from Tibet without delay. In the course of the same month, Father Tamburini wrote to this effect to the Provincial at Goa and to Desideri, and on 16th January, 1719, reiterated his orders to the latter. This letter reached Desideri at the beginning of 1721, while he was still staying at the hamlet of Trong-g-nêe in Takpó-Khier. First, at the request of the Capuchin Father, Giuseppe Felice da

Morro, he translated into Italian the famous work *Lam rim čhenmo*, to assist the latter in his study of Buddhist doctrine, and then returned to Lhasa. On 28th April, he left the holy city of the Dalai Lama, and took the road to Kuti in Nepal.

The missionary labours of the Society of Jesus in Tibet had come to an end.

PREFACE

By The Editor

It is now more than fifty years since Sir Clements Markham, in his *Narratives of the Mission of G. Bogle to Tibet, and of the Journey of F. Manning to Lhasa* (see Bibliography at the end of the volume), announced the news that the lost manuscript of the Jesuit missionary, Ippolito Desideri, had been rediscovered, and would probably be published before long, adding his opinion that the Italian publication "ought promptly to be followed by an English edition".

The Italian manuscript had been found a year earlier—in 1875—among the papers of Cavaliere Rossi-Cassigoli, a gentleman of Pistoia. But it was not till nine and twenty years later that the work was published by Professor Puini. The editor, in his preface, has described the many vicissitudes of the manuscript from its rediscovery to its final publication; the negotiations for its surrender to the Hakluyt Society; its removal to the National Library of Florence; how its publication was entrusted by the Italian Geographical Society first to Giovanni Marinelli, and on the death of Marinelli to Puini himself; and finally its appearance in print in Volume x of the *Memorie* of the Italian Geographical Society under the title *Il Tibet (Geografia, Storia, Religione, Costumi); secondo la Relazione del Viaggio di Ippolito Desideri*; 1715–1721 (Rome, 1904).

Puini, in the meantime, had written various articles partially illustrating some of the points of the narrative, but insufficient to convey its great importance, or to give an idea of the work as a whole. And owing to the long interval between the finding of the manuscript

and its final publication, added to the fact that it was issued in a limited edition for the members of the Italian Geographical Society, it escaped the notice of the greater number of geographers, more especially outside Italy. The only writer who can be said to have appreciated Desideri and his journey to the full is perhaps Sven Hedin. (See *Southern Tibet*, vol. i, ch. xxvii–xxix ; vol. ii, ch. xxxi ; vol. iii, chs. ii and iv.) The other writers on Tibet, not excepting those who are competent on things oriental, have practically all of them repeated the grossest errors regarding the Italian missionary, errors which even the most summary acquaintance with the published parts of the manuscript would certainly have prevented. In addition to the unfounded statements in regard to the itinerary of the journey, to the length of time passed in Tibet, and the rich store of information contained in the narrative, they have persisted in arbitrary and even defamatory statements in regard to the *raison d'être* of the mission itself. The errors of Markham, Rockhill, Günther, Wegener, Waddell, Schlagintweit, etc., and the groundless accusations and insinuations of G. Sandberg (1904), P. Landon (1905), T. Holditch (1906), have been dealt with by Father Wessels in his *Early Jesuit Travellers* (p. 209 ; p. 222, note 4 ; p. 225, note 3).

Many more travellers could be added to the list given by Wessels. Following Desideri, the first Europeans to traverse the high valley of the Tsang-po were Captains Rawling, Ryder, and Wood, and Lieutenant Bailey, who accompanied the Younghusband expedition to Lhasa. But neither Ryder in his lecture to the Royal Geographical Society (*Geogr. Journ.*, vol. xxvi, 1905, p. 369), nor Rawling in the fuller report contained in his book *The Great Plateau* (London 1905), makes the slightest allusion to the only traveller who had taken that road before them, namely Desideri. After mentioning briefly the visit

of Antonio de Andrade to Tsaparang in Western Tibet in 1626, Captain Rawling adds the following: "At various intervals other European missionaries entered Tibet, but none were more successful than the Capuchin Friars, who not only travelled to Lhasa but settled there in 1708. Scanty records have been left by those early adventurers, etc." (p. 4).

Sir Henry Yule, in his book, *Cathay and the Way Thither*, published in 1866, deplores the fatality which prevented precise information from the few travellers who had penetrated to Lhasa, and regrets being forced to quote from the doubtful description of Friar Odorico da Pordenone, from Giorgi's *Alphabetum Thibetanum*, and from the "so unsatisfactory", as he calls it, account of Huc. And Cordier in the new edition of Yule's *Cathay*, which he edited with notes in 1913 (vol. i, p. 249), has nothing to add to it in this connection. He leaves unchanged the statement of Yule, excusable at the early date at which the book was written, that Desideri had given no details of his journey beyond Ladak and had not spoken of Lhasa at all. He even repeats the false statement made by Yule and by many others (see Wessels, p. 225, note 3), that the Italian missionary had remained in Lhasa till 1729. And Sir Charles Bell, who for many years was in touch with the Tibetan Government and had the good fortune to reside in Lhasa for nearly a year, in 1920–1, in his books, *Tibet Past and Present* (Oxford, 1924) and *The People of Tibet* (Oxford, 1928), makes only the briefest allusion to Desideri, a knowledge of whose narrative would have provided him with an interesting comparison between the observations of the Italian missionary at the beginning of the eighteenth century and his own. The same applies to the latest book that has appeared on Tibet, *The Land of the Lama*, by David Macdonald, who for ten years was British agent at Gyantse and Yatung. Macdonald's book has no bibliography.

The above examples will show how little weight has been given to Puini's book, in spite of it showing so clearly how very important was Desideri's report. In it we find the first hint of the sacred mountain Kailas, of Lake Manasarowar, of the great valley of the Tsang-po, which no European had traversed before him, news of Baltistan, and news also of Ladak, where no traveller had set foot before him, if we except Azevedo and Oliveira, who remained there for a brief stay in 1631. Above all, in Desideri we have the first accurate general description of Tibet, in all its particulars—the flora, fauna, products of the soil, the inhabitants and their special customs, the constitution of the family, the nuptial and funerary rites, the social organization, and finally a complete exposition of Lamaism derived from his study of the canonical books and their commentaries and from a daily and familiar intercourse, stretching over many years, with the doctors of Lamaism and the life of the Lamaseries, made possible by his perfect knowledge of the Tibetan language. To him we are indebted for the only complete reconstruction that we possess of the Tibetan religion, founded entirely on the canonical texts. He sets in evidence its scholastic character and its complicated dialectic, admirably discerning its ethical-philosophical content from the congeries of Tantric superstitions and Sivaitic mixtures which fill so large a place in the monumental books of the Tibetan doctrines.

And all this more than a century before the men of learning in Europe had any knowledge at all of the Tibetan language! Not till the middle of the nineteenth century did B. H. Hodgson and A. Csoma de Kőrös rediscover the Tibetan texts, and all we possess, even to-day, are a few incomplete summaries of the texts and translations of single books and chapters. Before their rediscovery, and even since, the grossest errors have been current on the Tibetan religion, the Grand

Lama and the people of Tibet. The ancient *Alphabetum Thibetanum* compiled by Antonio Giorgi, the Augustine Friar, from information given by the Capuchin Fathers contemporary with Desideri, and especially by Father Cassiano Beligatti of Macerata ; the famous book by Father Huc, brilliant rather than profound, which nevertheless was received as though it were a revelation ; the works of the Abbé Desgodins and of Adrien Launay on the missions of Tibet, and the other numerous narratives of Tibetan explorers and travellers —none of these works can compare with the account of Desideri for completeness, for precision, for sureness of judgment, for objective serenity. Not one of the writers on Tibet in general, nor the expounders of the Tibetan religion and ecclesiastical hierarchy, from Waddell to Milloué, and the rest of them, has availed himself of this rich mine of information. Furthermore Desideri happened to be in Tibet during events of great historical importance and describes them at first-hand as an eye-witness.

Desideri's *Relazione*, composed entirely from personal observations made on the spot, and from investigations of the Tibetan texts constantly controlled by the Doctors of the Law, has a scientific value of the first importance which has not been affected by the studies which have since appeared. Most of these studies are partial ; and not one of them has led to conclusions contradictory to Desideri's. Moreover, the simple and frank style of his narrative, the absolute honesty of his exposition of the Buddhist doctrine, and his attitude to the people and the country in general, make his book an extremely attractive one. The figure that emerges is that of a mild and simple man, full of human understanding and sympathy, and honest and truthful to the point of candour.

These were the considerations which induced me, some years ago now, to embark on an English edition

of Desideri's narrative. My first idea was to prepare a straightforward English translation of Professor Puini's book, which even then was so rare as to be almost unobtainable. Puini's learned preface and erudite notes I intended to complete with the new data which had come to light since he published them. It was only when I compared the book with Desideri's account in the National Library of Florence that I realized what a large proportion of the manuscript was still unpublished. Puini had confined his attention to the parts dealing with Baltistan, Ladak, and Tibet, and even these were given incompletely. Desideri's journeys out and back, his descriptions of the various places he stayed in in India, his accounts of the political events in those places, his report on the state of the Missions, and a number of other particulars, were omitted altogether. Moreover, Puini, faced by an account so ample as this, in fairly good order as regards the material, but, except for a section at the end, written in a continuous whole without books or chapters, adopted an unusual method in works of this kind ; he composed a descriptive book on Tibet divided into chapters according to the material, and to each chapter he appended a portion of Desideri's manuscript bearing on the subject. It follows that the manuscript became almost secondary—little more, in fact, than an appendix ; not even its title was kept. The same remarks were made by A. J. Keane in his review of Puini's book published in the *Geographical Journal* (vol. xxv, 1905). It concluded as follows : " What he (Puini) has now issued is by no means a complete edition of the *Ragguaglio* . . . Puini's work is entirely confined to the Tibetan section . . . even this section is not given in full, but is edited with a sort of eclectic system. . . . Pending a complete edition of Desideri, Puini has made a valuable contribution to the study of Tibetan and other primitive religions by the numerous critical remarks with which

he has accompanied his copious extracts from the *Ragguaglio* " (p. 84).

To introduce into Puini's book the omitted parts of Desideri's manuscript would have meant the upsetting of the whole order of the book, and the changing of its character completely. So I came to the conclusion that the only course open to me was to undertake the work *ex novo*—to publish, that is, an English translation of Desideri's text in full, with the notes that were strictly necessary for the historical and geographical comprehension of it, and for the linking of it up with the modern knowledge of the countries traversed, and adding a geographical map to illustrate the itinerary, a thing which is lacking in Puini.

The translation was finished, and the material for the notes and bibliography had all been collected, when in 1924, there appeared Father Wessels' *Early Jesuit Missions in Central Asia*, which, with the exception only of the Mission of Bento de Goes, were all to Tibet. The author, with the aid of a large supply of new material unearthed by himself from the archives of the Society of Jesus, has reconstructed and explained in their details the itineraries of Antonio de Andrade, of Francisco de Azevedo, of Estevão Cacella, of João Cabral, of Johann Grueber, and of Albert D'Orville, completely vindicating their geographical importance and establishing the priority of the missionaries in regions hitherto untrodden by Europeans.

In dealing with Ippolito Desideri, in addition to providing an extremely clear summary of the vicissitudes of his Mission and of the new contents of the *Relazione*, Father Wessels announced the very important news that in the Archives of the Society of Jesus there were two other manuscript codices of the narrative. On reading his description of these manuscripts, I at once decided to postpone the publication

of the Florence version until I had collated it with the others. In the following year came an opportunity of comparing it carefully with the more important of the two (the one called " MS. A " in Wessels' book) which had been sent to Rome for the Missionary Exhibition of the Jubilee of 1925. In regard to " MS. B ", Father Wessels, with a kindness and liberality for which I am glad to express my gratitude, dispatched me photographic copies of the pages that contained material differing from that of MS. A.

The general result of the collation of the three codices is as follows. The Florence manuscript, with the exception of a few passages of secondary importance, has all the material contained in the others, though in great part differently arranged. Manuscript B, which has the title *Memorie del Viaggio da Roma sin' a Lhasa, Città capitale del Terzo Thibet, e Missione ivi intrapresa*, is full of erasions, of corrections and references, and appears to be an approximate reproduction of the Florence manuscript, which had served for the preparing of MS. A for the press. Manuscript A has the addition of a preface, and is addressed generically " To the Reader ", and not to a particular person. Its material is distributed in orderly fashion, being divided into three books followed by an index ; it has all the appearance of a manuscript prepared by Desideri for the press. Its title is as follows : *Notizie historiche del Regno del Thibet e Memorie de' Viaggi e Missioni ivi fatti dal Padre Ippolito Desideri della Compagnia di Giesù, dal medesimo scritte e dedicate.* It carries the date 1712–33, so was evidently completed shortly before the writer's death, which took place on 14th April, 1733, in his forty-eighth year. But in MS. A there is a great lacuna : the parts dealing with the Tibetan religion, its doctrine and canonical laws, with transmigration and reincarnation, with the ecclesiastical hierarchy, with deified

persons, with iconography and legends and holy objects, etc.—themes amply developed in the Florence manuscript and also in MS. B, where they are contained in two groups of chapters divided by other material—are completely omitted. That they once were included also in MS. A is proved by the Index, which gives them as appearing in Book III, divided into twenty-two chapters.

It is evident, then, that MS. A was the basis of a narrative intended for publication. Except for the distribution of the material and a few additions, it fortunately corresponds on the whole, and for long stretches even word for word, with the Florence manuscript. All the same I was obliged to rehandle the English text from beginning to end, completing it where necessary with the material of the other two codices. I have put back in its place the treatment of the Tibetan religion contained in Book III, having reconstructed it from the Florence manuscript and from MS. B. So the work is integral with regard to the documents we possess. I have recapitulated or suppressed a few passages of Christian missionary apologetics ; and I have omitted altogether the concluding four chapters which are a sort of guide-book to the missionary in Tibet, notwithstanding that they set in relief the lofty conception that Desideri held of the missionary vocation, and his entire freedom from fanaticism. Very clearly did he realize the high endowments, both physical and moral, the intelligence and the learning which are necessary to the person who undertakes the serious task of an apostolate.

These four concluding chapters, which in the bound MS. A have been erroneously placed at the end of Book I, belong instead to Book IV, and have the following numbers and headings :—

Chapter XVII, pp. 146–57 : Father Desideri's opinions on the knowledge required by missionaries in India.

Chapter XVIII, pp. 157–65 : Further explains the knowledge that is indispensable to missionaries destined to convert infidels in India.

Chapter XIX, pp. 165–75 : How the above-mentioned knowledge should be taught and encouraged among missionaries destined to serve in India.

Chapter XX, pp. 175–210: How it is the bounden duty of every Christian to aid and promote missions among infidels, and how this may be accomplished.

These chapters are embodied in the last forty-four sheets of the Florence MS. (Fo. 272–316) under the heading " Conclusion of the Account and the Author's views about Missions to India ".

Father Wessels, in his Introduction, explains the position held by Desideri's mission in the general survey of the Jesuit Missions to Tibet, making clear its relation to the others. The content of the narrative and the itinerary he had already summarized clearly in his *Early Jesuit Travellers* (chap. vii). The part of Desideri's narrative that is strictly geographical is less satisfactory, perhaps, than the rest. But we must bear in mind the date when it was written. Not even the results of the summary survey of Tibet made by the two lama surveyors sent by the Jesuit geographers of China to complete the survey of the Empire carried out under the direction of Father Régis were known at that time. The lamas' work was interrupted by the Tartar invasion of Tibet in 1717, which Desideri describes in Book II of his narrative.

Desideri, however, did realize the vastness of Tibet, if only from the current reports of the length of time needed to cross it in its different directions. His descriptions of the country and its inhabitants, and of the social order and civil administration apply, of course, only to Central and to Southern Tibet and to the sedentary population, which he knew from his own experience. Of the Eastern provinces, the vast

plateaus and mountain chains to the north of the Transhimalaya, and the nomadic peoples that inhabit them, we have only the barest indications in his narrative. An important lacuna in the geographical particulars of Southern Tibet is the absence of the smallest allusion to the great lake Yam Drok, notwithstanding that it is situated on the road from Lhasa to Gyantse. It is mentioned by his contemporary Orazio della Penna.

Desideri's description of the journey from Leh to Lhasa is disappointingly brief and lacking in descriptive data and information. It is almost as though he had failed to realize that after emerging from the basin of Lake Manasarowar and leaving behind him Ngari Khorsum, he had travelled down a single huge valley—the Tsang-po. Yet later in the narrative (Book II, chapter iv) states he unequivocally that Southern Tibet is traversed through its whole extension from east to west by a single great river, which he identifies in a manner which leaves no room for doubt with the upper flow of the Brahmaputra—a remarkable affirmation at that date, when one thinks of the long controversy on that subject which was only settled at the beginning of the present century. Another, and most natural, deficiency in Desideri is his inability to judge the altitude of the territory he crossed ; he attributes the poverty of the vegetation and physical phenomena, etc., to the dryness of the climate.

I have already alluded to the value and importance of Desideri's exposition of the doctrine, religious system, and ecclesiastical orders of Tibet. While knowing that the religion had come originally from India, he did not know it was derived directly from Buddhism. Buddhism is never mentioned ; nor even Buddha, whom he only knew under the Tibetan name of " Shakya Thuba ". Though he had close contacts with the civil anthority of Tibet and with the monks and lamas of the monasteries, where he

dwelt and pursued his studies, he had no contacts at all with the supreme authority, the Dalai Lama. He arrived at Lhasa when the sixth Dalai Lama had recently been deposed and murdered, and when the dignity had been invested in a Lama chosen by the king and unrecognized both by his Church and the Tibetans themselves; while the child in which the Dalai Lama was believed to have been re-born was a prisoner in the Eastern marches of Tibet. But this in no wise limits his knowledge of the ecclesiastical hierarchy.

A characteristic unusual in the narratives of that day, which gives Desideri a note almost of modernity, is the inclusion of a critical bibliographical chapter, in which comparisons are made between his own information and the small amount of literature on the subject which he knew, and the resulting conclusions discussed (Book III, chap. xxii).

Of biographical particulars of Desideri we have none. The Jesuit Records have the dates merely of his ordination and his death, which roughly correspond with the following dates inscribed on the last page of the Florence manuscript :—

Born at Pistoia on 20th December, 1684 (Wessels, p. 273, has 21st December).

On 9th May, 1700 (Wessels, ib., has 27th April), took the habit of St. Ignatius of Loyola in Rome, and was ordained on 28th August, 1712.

On 27th September of the same year, he left Rome for India as Apostolic Missionary.

On 4th November, 1727, he returned from India in charge of various commissions for the Holy See.

On 14th April, 1733, Easter Day, he died, at the Roman College in Rome, of inflammation of the lungs, aged 48 years, 3 months and 25 days.

To the *Relazione* I have added a brief report, published here for the first time, by Father Emanoel

Freyre, the Portuguese Jesuit who accompanied Desideri from Delhi to Leh and Lhasa, departing again in a few days for India by way of Nepal. Freyre's manuscript, which is in Latin, was rediscovered by Paul Pelliot in the Biblioteca Vittorio Emanuele of Rome (Fondo gesuitico, MS. 1384, No. 31). Pelliot announced his discovery in a review of Wessels' book, published in *T'oung pao* (1925–26, p. 388). Freyre's account does not add materially to the information, but is a useful check to it. A biographical note on Freyre is given on page 222 of *Early Jesuit Travellers*.

The extremely prolix style of Desideri, loaded as it is with synonyms and pleonasms, is unsuited to a verbally exact translation ; it was necessary, therefore, to condense it and hurry its pace. But his narrative has in other respects been faithfully followed.

Desideri's narrative was translated and prepared by my revered and regretted friend, Mrs. Janet Ross, in constant and patient collaboration with myself, and I take this occasion to express my affectionate and grateful thanks to her. I am also indebted to my friend Miss Joan Redfern for undertaking the translation of the critical apparatus, preface and notes, etc.

In addition to which I desire to acknowledge gratefully the valuable help and advice given me by Sir E. Denison Ross, who has also kindly undertaken to revise and complete the transliteration of Father Desideri's spelling of names. It is at the suggestion of Sir E. Denison Ross that Desideri's original spelling of Indian and Tibetan names has been preserved. Wherever it was considered necessary, the modern form is introduced in square brackets the first time the name occurs in the text, and eventually repeated when the word appears again after a long interval. Desideri's spelling is by no means always uniform ; occasionally the letters vary and also the

accents. It is difficult to interpret the phonetic meaning attached by Desideri to the various accents or rather diacritic signs which he uses, as *ĕ*, *ê*, *ȏ*, *ŏ*, etc. Possibly he attempted to differentiate the variously sounded Tibetan vowels, to which he alludes in his chapter on the Tibetan language. The various spellings have been reported in the Index of Tibetan names, with the exception of the obvious clerical errors.

The quoted MSS. A and B are those first described by Father Wessels (*Early Jesuit Travellers*, etc., p. 274 sq.). Fl. MS. stands for the manuscript in the National Library of Florence. The notes are strictly pertinent to the text for the purpose of elucidation of certain points, and comparison with the writings of modern observers and students. The bibliography given at the end does not attempt to be a complete bibliography of Tibet; it is merely a list of the books and works quoted in the notes, for the purpose of reference.

F. De Filippi.

NOTE TO THE REVISED EDITION

I am indebted to Father H. Hosten, S.J., for a list of misprints and errors in the first edition. Also to Capt. C. J. Morris for advice. Due account has also been taken of the mistakes pointed out by Sir Ch. Bell and Professor G. Tucci in their reviews of the book, printed in the *Journ. Roy. As. Soc.* for July, 1932, p. 710, and for April, 1933, p. 353. Also of the article of Professor G. Vacca on Desideri's MSS. in *Boll. R. Soc. Geogr. Ital.*, Series vi, vol. ix, 1932, p. 525. References have been added in the Notes to some books related to the subject, which have appeared since the first publication, namely, *The Religion of Tibet*, by Sir Ch. Bell (1931); *The Jesuits and the Great Mogul*, by Sir E. Maclagan (1932); *Indo-Tibetica*, i, *Mc'od Rten e Ts'a Ts'a*; ii, *Rin c'en Bzan po*, by G. Tucci (1932–3); *Cronaca della Missione Scientifica Tucci nel Tibet Occidentale* (*Roma*, 1934), by G. Tucci – E. Ghersi. Also to the newly discovered report on Tibet by the Capuchin Father Domenico da Fano.

F. D. F.

HISTORICAL SKETCH OF THIBET

AND

AN ACCOUNT OF THE MISSION AND TRAVELS IN THAT COUNTRY BY

FATHER IPPOLITO DESIDERI

OF THE SOCIETY OF JESUS, WRITTEN BY HIMSELF

1712–1733

FOREWORD

By the Author

(MS. A, pages not numbered; missing in Fl. MS.)

I did not intend to publish an account of the history of Thibet or of my travels and Mission to that country, which were written only for my own pleasure and kept as a memorial of my laborious journeys. Also I must add that having seen more than one description of the countries and customs of the Indies, I found them to be so improbable and exaggerated, and so utterly unlike all I had seen and experienced during fifteen years, that I feared to be accused of the same lack of truth.

But when I returned through France and Italy to Tuscany and Rome, I was strongly urged by many men of letters, by gentlemen and by important personages to write down in proper order all I had told them at different times. To satisfy their curiosity I therefore resolved to publish these pages. Another inducement was that only very meagre and inexact accounts of Thibet exist. Other parts of India and the East have often been described; but, so far as I know, Thibet is unknown to most people, save perhaps as a name. Yet it is as worthy of notice as the others. To mention but one thing, its Religion, founded on the Pythagorean system, and so entirely different from any other, deserves to be known in order to be contested. I flatter myself that these pages may induce the learned to confute this new mixture of superstitious errors, and move some to go to the assistance of that benighted nation.

Whether I succeed or not the Reader need not fear a lack of truth; he will read only what I myself have

seen and examined and, unless my senses have deceived me, I shall not deceive him. Only he must not be imbued with the baneful prejudice that a thing out of the common must necessarily be false. Even our ancestors would not recognize us, so different is the style of dress, the manners, and the customs; nor should we know them. If the reader divests himself of prejudice, I have no doubt he will realize that these pages are truthful.

I shall divide this record into four books. The first will describe my journey of three and a half years from Rome to Lhasá, capital of Third Thibet, and my mission work there. The second will treat of the nature, character, customs, and civil government of Thibet. The third (*missing in MS. A, see Preface*) will explain the peculiar sect of Thibettan Religion, and their hierarchy, somewhat resembling that of our Ecclesiastics and Monks. The fourth will tell of my return, by a different route, to Europe, and of other Missions in which I was engaged for some time. But I shall not enlarge upon these, nor shall I, for fear of being tedious and repeating what has been said by others, say much about the celebrated places through which I travelled in India, Hindostán, and various others on the sea coast.

I shall not attempt to excuse the unadorned and even rugged style of these pages. Who brings new and rare fruits from a foreign land need not make excuses if their flavour is not perfect, or they are presented in a rustic basket. Their quality and their rarity must be their excuse. Too much eloquence and too finished a style might arouse suspicion that there is some untruth to hide.

BOOK THE FIRST

Describing the Journey from Rome to Lhasá, Capital of Third Thibet, and my Mission there

CHAPTER I

Departure from Rome and Journey to Lisbon.
(MS. A, pp. 1–4; Fl. MS., f° 1 and 264–5.)

ON the fifteenth of August, 1712, I at last obtained permission from our General, the Very Reverend Father Michelangelo Tamburini, to go to the East Indies, and was ordered to open and start missions in the kingdoms of Thibet (a thing that had been attempted several times since 1624). Between the twenty-first and the twenty-eighth of August I was ordained, and on the thirty-first celebrated Holy Mass for the first time.

In September I kissed for the last time the feet of His Holiness Clement XI, received the Apostolic benediction and, at the age of twenty-seven and nine months, started on my long journey on the twenty-seventh, with Father Ildebrando Grassi, who was going to the Mission in the Kingdom of Maissúr [Mysore] in the Peninsula ending at the Cape Seilano [Ceylon].

We arrived at Pistoia on the sixth of October, and left on the eleventh for Leghorn where we embarked on the twentieth (*about the twenty-second, in Fl. MS., f°* 264) in a coasting vessel. Contrary winds and bad weather detained us at Porto Venere for some days, so we only reached Genoa on the thirty-first.

Here we embarked, together with Father Francesco Maria del Rosso, on the twenty-second of November (*or twenty-third, Fl. MS., f°* 1) on the ship *La Madonna delle Vigne*, which was sailing to Lisbon. By bad weather we were driven to take refuge at Barcelona, at Alicante and at Malaga, where we waited for favourable winds to pass the Straits of Gibraltar and at last arrived at Cadiz. There we met with more trouble; a large Turkish ship was lying in wait to

attack us, so we cruised about and at length disembarked at Sisinbra [Cezimba], in Portugal, from whence, partly on land, partly by sea, we went to Lisbon, arriving there in the middle of March, 1713.

CHAPTER II

Voyage from Lisbon to off the Cape of Good Hope.
(*MS. A, pp.* 4–9; *Fl. MS. f°* 1 *and* 265.)

After paying our respects to the King, Queen, and Princes, the Cardinal and Monsignor the Nuncio, we embarked on the seventh of April on one of three ships bound for Goa in company with a fleet sailing to Brazil and other places subject to Portugal, with which we kept company for about ten days.

Early in May we crossed the Line, and were becalmed for some days. But soon we experienced what the Portuguese call *trovoadas*, storms of short duration but very severe, with thunder, lightning, snow, and wind, which drove us south of the line. During one of these storms we were separated from the other two ships, ours being a faster sailer.

What takes place on board when a ship crosses the Line is well known, so I shall not describe it at any length. A bell summons everyone on deck when crossing, and tables are placed for judges and attendants. All who have never before crossed the Line are ordered to swear on certain nautical books and maps that they are ready to pay tribute on crossing, and that they will on future occasions exact the same from any others who should cross the Line for the first time, and other promises. Everyone is then taxed according to his means, and, although they pay, they are well drenched, pails of water being poured over them. If any refuse to pay they are condemned to various punishments, some being tied to the yard with long ropes and plunged several times

into the sea. The games end with cutting a thin rope stretched between the bow and the stern of the ship. The tribute money is used either for masses or for a festivity on shore. On ships sailing from the Mediterranean to Lisbon, the same ceremony is performed on doubling Cape St. Vincent.

I have often been asked whether it is true that many people die when crossing the Line unless they are copiously bled, and that water and food become putrid and full of worms. Before answering it must be remembered that the Line is crossed twice on going from Europe to India, first from North to South, and then from South to North, and also twice on returning from India to Europe. On crossing the Line the first time on the way to India there are generally several days of absolute calm and great heat, on the second time of crossing it is not nearly so hot.

Although when crossing the Line the first time many people suffer from sickness, insomnia, and languor, caused by the intense heat, there are no mortal illnesses, and there is no need to use the lancet. All bad symptoms disappear when the wind rises. It is true that a person who is already ill may be affected by the want of air and die, and water and eatables may suffer, but experience shows that bad jars, or keeping water below deck without air, or even the bad quality of the water, may cause putrefaction. It is well known that water from the Isle of Mauritius will keep during a long voyage, while that from Martinique soon becomes turbid and full of animalcules. This need not, however, create alarm. Bringing the jars on deck and exposing the water to the air and, better still, filtering it through white linen, will make it fit to drink.

After crossing the Line the shortest way to the Cape of Good Hope is round the coast of Guinea, but to avoid the strong currents and gain a favourable wind ships pass on the opposite side of the Atlantic

and sail towards America and Brazil. Having sailed beyond Pernambuco and the Bay of All Saints, on the twelfth and thirteenth we met very bad weather, and the ship nearly went down on the fourteenth. At the end of June we passed the Cape of Good Hope.

CHAPTER III

Voyage to Mozambique and to Goa.
(*MS. A, pp.* 10–15; *Fl. MS. f°* 1 *and* 265–6.)

We now sailed towards the Mozambique Channel, but as we sighted the Isle of Madagascar we were becalmed for eight days, and suffered much from the intense heat. When at last the wind rose, we entered the Channel and arrived safely at the Isle of Mozambique on the twenty-fifth of July, three and a half months after leaving Lisbon. Our Society has a college here where we rested after our long voyage. Dom João de Almeda, Governor General of Mozambique and of the Rios de Senna [Zambesi River], places on the African coast subject to Portugal, was a pious and munificent cavalier who showed us great honour. The two ships which left Lisbon with us only arrived on the thirty-first of July and the fourth of August.

The invalids on the three ships, including several of the soldiers who were on their way to India to garrison fortresses, were well cared for in the Royal Hospital on the island.

We had to wait at Mozambique for ships from Senna, which bring a quantity of large elephant tusks, gold, silver, and black amber, as well as many Kafirs or negroes, slaves bought there to be sold at Goa. They are not allowed to leave Mozambique until they have been baptized. One *crusado*, Portuguese silver coin, worth, I think, half a Roman *scudo*, and a taper, are given to the priest for each man baptized.

It is painful to see how readily the baptism is conferred as soon as the tax is paid, no instruction having been given to the Kafirs, nor do they understand the language. So many slaves are embarked at Mozambique that the ships are crowded and become very filthy. In Goa they fetch high prices on account of their strength and fidelity.

Mozambique, which is quite a small island, has a large and fine fortress, well garrisoned and provided with big cannon. The houses are good and built of stone and mortar, but there are not many inhabitants. Some are Portuguese officials, others are Kafirs. On the island grow only a few coconuts, palms, and sparse vegetables in small gardens. Other food, fruit, and necessaries of life come from places on the mainland subject to the King of Portugal which are near by. Our Fathers have educated the natives, and built a church on the mainland, where they collect many useful herbs, especially Calumba and Lopo roots, both much esteemed in India. The first is a yellow root often used with good results. It is rubbed into a powder on a hard stone and water is added ; it is then drunk, and is excellent for obstruction of the bowels. If a red hot iron is plunged into the water, it produces a contrary effect. The Lopo root is smaller, black outside, and red, or rather the colour of saffron, inside. Rubbed in like manner on a stone and mixed with water it is a sovereign remedy against fevers, especially those caused by a chill.[1] I did not remain long in Mozambique, or in other places belonging to the Kingdom, so had no opportunity to study other herbs.

We left Mozambique on the sixteenth of August (*seventeenth, in Fl. MS., f°* 1) and crossed the Line once more early in September ; on the nineteenth we saw the coast of Goa in the distance and next day some of our Fathers came to fetch us in a boat. It was dark when we entered the Port of Aguada, and

midnight ere we arrived at Pangim [Panjim] on the river bank, where the Society has a house. There we met the Viceroy of India, and many of our Fathers who had come to greet us. Next morning, the twenty-first of September, 1713 (*twenty-seventh, in Fl. MS., f°* 1), we went up the river to Goa, and met the Reverend Father Provincial and all the other Fathers standing in front of the Church of the College of St. Paul to receive us. I remained at Goa for about two months.

CHAPTER IV

Journey from Goa to the City of Delly, Capital of the Empire of Mogol.

(*MS. A, pp.* 16–28; *Fl. MS., f°* 7–9 *and* 266.)

A FLEET of several men of war, commanded by Dom Lopo de Almeida, was preparing to leave Goa and sail towards Surat against the Arabs of Mascati [Muscat], who had captured a Portuguese vessel from Macao in the very port of Surat. A large fleet of merchantmen were sailing together with the fleet and we left with them in the latter half of November (*November seventeenth, Fl. MS., f°* 1), touching at Ciaul [Chaul] and at Bassaim [Bassein], from whence we went overland to our College at Daman where we arrived on the twenty-first of December.

On the first of January, 1714, we left Daman, reaching the town of Surat on the fourth. I was obliged to stay there until the twenty-fifth of March, as the country was much disturbed owing to the war waged by Farrokh-Sier [Farrukh Siyar] against his uncle and predecessor, who was cruelly murdered, together with his Vizier, Giulfcar [Zulfiqār] Khan (*on February eleventh*, 1713). The Vizier's dead body was shamefully maltreated, and left exposed for some days in the public square.

Soon afterwards (*on January twenty-first*, 1714),

Farrokh-Sier most barbarously ordered the eyes of the Princes of the Royal House to be burnt with red hot irons. Some, however, the Ministers saved out of compassion.

The Emperor's cruelty had alienated the hearts of most of his subjects and of the new Vizier, Abdullá Khan ['Abdullah Khan], a noble and a Saed [Sayyid], or descendant of Muhammad, who had also taken offence because the above-mentioned order had been given by Farrokh-Sier at the instigation of a certain Mirgiumlá [Mir Jumla] without being ratified, as was the custom, by the Vizier's seal. By birth Mirgiumlá was a sonnar or goldsmith, by profession a Molla (Mullah) or learned man of the Muhammadan sect, who had taught reading and writing to Farrokh-Sier as a boy, and recently had been created Ombrá [Amir] or noble,[2] and prince of the Mogol [Moghul] Empire. The Vizier's brother, Assen-Aaly-Khan [Husayn 'Aly Khan], was a noble and Sepah-Salaâr [Sipah Sardar], or Commander-in-Chief, with a large standing army of both foot and horse in his pay (this appears to be a custom of the chief nobles in that Empire), all picked men, and devoted to their commander because of his great valour and liberality.

For some years the Saed brothers dissembled, but when they knew that the general feeling was in their favour they laid their grievances before the Emperor, and constrained him to banish his friend and their enemy Mirgiumlá from the city of Delly [Delhi]. The Emperor named him Subá [Subadār] or Governor of the province of Patná and of Beahr [Bihar], which in former times was an independent kingdom adjoining that of Bengalà [Bengal], and he left followed by many nobles of inferior rank (*December*, 1714). Soon, however, the intolerable taxation and continual maladministration reduced that province to cry with misery and the Emperor was forced to recall him to Delly (*October*, 1718), where he was thrown into prison.

The licentiousness and brutality of Farrokh-Sier had made him so unpopular that the brothers Abdullà-Khan and Assen-Aaly-Khan found little resistance when they besieged the fortress of Delly, seized the Emperor, put out his eyes, and finally killed him (*twenty-seventh–twenty-eighth February*, 1719).

They then, at the head of a large army, marched to Agra, five or six days' journey from Delly, and delivered from prison one of the Royal Princes, called Nikoscier [Niku Siyār] whose eyes had been saved, and proclaimed him Emperor.[3] He soon renounced the crown and died (*June eleventh*, 1719). Another prince was then elected (*Rafī 'ud-Darajāt*), who lived but a short time, and was succeeded by Mahammed-Sciah [Muhammad Shah], who was still reigning when I left India.

During all these changes and tumults the Vizier and the Commander-in-Chief remained in close agreement, and were held in universal respect. They placed the present Emperor on the throne when he was about 18 years of age, and Abdullá-Khan, as Vizier, had almost absolute power. His brother, Assen-Aaly-Khan, after some time started for the province of Daccàn [Deccan] at the head of a large army, in a magnificent palanquin.[4] By the roadside a man with a petition implored mercy and assistance of the great Khan, who stopped his bearers, ordered the supplicant to approach, and took the petition. While he was reading it the man suddenly sprang forward and plunged a dagger into Assen-Aaly-Khan's breast, who fell back mortally wounded (*October eighth*, 1720). The assassin was at once cut to pieces by the guards. It was always said the Emperor had ordered the murder, as instead of seizing the property of the dead man, as was the custom, he allowed the soldiers and the people to pillage everything. At the same time he ordered the Vizier Abdullá-Khan to be imprisoned, and after some time poisoned him, in 1722.[5]

But to return to my journey. On the twenty-fifth of March, 1714, I left Surat, and arrived early in April at Amadabad [Ahmadabad], principal city of the Province of Guzarat [Gujarat], in olden times an independent State, but now subject to the Great Mogol. One of the chief officials of the Emperor resides here, and it is often ruled by a brother or a son of the said Emperor. Situated in a fine, wide, and fruitful plain, and surrounded by several lines of walls, it contains a large population and rich merchants, especially pagans, and has a great trade in silk fabrics and fine linen. The agents of the French and Dutch East India Companies live here. I was but one day in Amadabad, as a caravan of several thousand persons, led by an Ombrao with a large body of cavalry, was just leaving for Delly. It is customary in Mogol to join such caravans and thus be preserved from robbers and from the unjust exactions, or rather tyrannical extortions of the too frequent custom officials. In a few days we entered the country of a certain people belonging to Hindostan, called Rageput [Rajput]. They are pagans, bold by nature, tall, most warlike, and renowned for their military prowess. A part of the said people are subjects of a great and potent pagan king, or Ranà, who has his residence and holds his court in the city of Odipur [Udaipur]; he rules with admirable severity, and his laws are just. After the Emperor of Mogol he is the most powerful and remarkable king of these parts. The other Rageput are subjects of a great Ragià [Rajah] or, as we say, king, also a pagan, who resides and holds his court at Asmir [Ajmir]. His dominions extend well nigh to the royal city of Agra. He is powerful and illustrious, and has the privilege that the principal wife of the Emperor of Mogol must be of his family; by right also he is the chief of the other Ragià who form the bodyguard of the said Emperor. His country is very fertile, and owing to his strong government is

not harried by bands of robbers. But travellers must be warned not to kill any animals, especially peacocks, which are much venerated by this people. They might rise and attack anyone who killed animals. In the lands of other Rageput subject to the Ragià of Asmir are considerable deposits of salt and great tracts of sand, while water is scarce for travellers. The language of these Rageput differs from that of the rest of Mogol. They eat no meat, fish, or eggs, but live on rice, bread, vegetables, and fruit.[6] After traversing the dominions of various Rageput and part of Mogol we arrived on the tenth of May at the royal city of Delly, called also Sciah-Giahanaabad [Shah-Jahān-ābād], which name is derived from the Emperor Sciah-Giahan, who founded the city.[7] Since his day the Emperors have generally lived and held their court in this city, most densely populated, not only by natives, but by an infinite variety of foreigners from all parts of the world, such as merchants and others who have entered the service of the Emperor or of an Ombrao. The Emperor resides in the large fortress built of cut red stone, containing spacious apartments and fine gardens, audience halls, and zenanas. I need not dwell on the magnificence of the Emperor's court, or the splendour of his thrones and great treasures, as they have been described by other writers.

The most important personage after the Emperor is the Vizier, or Prime Minister ; next to him ranks the General-in-chief of the Imperial army, whose title is Avel-Bakscí [Avval-Bakhshi], or Mir-ol-Amir [Amīr-ul-Omarā], meaning chief of the nobles of the Empire, the third in rank is the Mir-Atesce [Mīr-Âtash], or Top-Khane-Ka-Deroga [Top-Khāne-ka-Daroga], superintendent of military equipments and artillery, who is the chief support of the crown and guardian of the life of the Emperor. After these comes the Duom-Bakscí [Duvum-Bakhshi,

Comptroller of the Household], or second Bakscí, one of the most important officers at court, as he is head of the secret chambers of the Emperor, and the Emperor's liberty and life depend on him. The Seom-Bakscí [Suvum-Bakhshi] or Third Bakscí, also belongs to the secret Councils of State, and when necessary takes the place of the First Bakscí. There are a great number of other Ministers called Ombrai [Omra] or Princes of the Empire, who are either employed at court or sent to govern provinces. Inferior to them are the numerous Manseldar [Mansabdārs, commissioned officers] in the immediate service of the Emperor, who receive large monthly salaries. Besides the Ombrai and Manseldar, innumerable other persons are employed about the court. To give some idea of the wealth and magnificence of the Great Emperor of Mogol I shall only say that many pagan kings who are in his service, and all the Ombrai, Manseldar, and other officials live in extraordinary luxury and splendour, with an infinite number of soldiers and servants, and that (excepting the merchants and their dependants) the whole enormous population, not only of Delly but of the vast Mogol Empire, live at the expense of the Emperor. They receive monthly pay either directly from him or through the Ombrai, Manseldar, and other officials.

CHAPTER V

Concerning the Churches and Christian Congregation of the Society of Jesus in Delly and of some notable Christians living in that City.

(*MS. A, pp.* 28–34; *Fl. MS. f°* 9–13.)

At present our Society has two churches and two presbyteries in Delly, with resident priests who labour to bring some souls to God and the Holy See, and to

keep the large number of Christians who live there steadfast to our religion. Although it is very dangerous to christianize and baptize Mahomedans, yet our Fathers have baptized and are still baptizing a few. Pagans of every description have been converted with their families, and form part of our congregation. Since our Fathers have been established in Mogol, many Europeans of various nationalities, both Catholics and heretics who have been converted to the Roman Church, have settled and married in Delly, and being industrious and well recommended by the Fathers, have found employment and high wages either with the Ombrai, or as artillery officers. Many have been named Manseldar, and are in high favour at court; especially M. Jacques Martin, from Toulon in France, who is surgeon and physician to the Emperor. He began his career here as doctor to Prince Giahan-Sciah [Jahān-Shah], son (*grandson*) of the great Emperor Oranzeb [Aurangzib], brother (*son*) of Badhur-Sciah [Bahadur Shah], father of the present Emperor Mahammed-Sciah [Muhammad Shah]. When the prince was killed in battle, M. Martin was named surgeon and physician to the Emperor Farrokh-Sier, and after performing a difficult and successful operation on the present Emperor Mahammed Sciah, was given the title of Khan, a high salary, and named Ombrao se hazari [a commander of 3,000]. He is held in high estimation by the whole Imperial Family, loved and respected by the court, and indeed by all Delly, on account of his charity to the poor and his kindness to the sick of every class, who never appeal to him in vain.[8]

An older and even more influential and highly respected inhabitant is Donna Giuliana Diaz da Costa, support and ornament of our Holy Faith in the Empire. When the city of Coccin [Cochin] was taken from Portugal by the Dutch [1663], her parents fled to the Kingdom of Bengalà, and then to the court

PLATE II

DONNA JULIANA DIAZ DA COSTA

From a portrait made in India, reproduced in Oud-en Nieuw Oost-Indiën, by François Valentijn; Amsterdam, 1724-26; p. 297

[*face p. 64*

of the Great Mogol. Endowed from childhood with rare intelligence, considerable eloquence, amiability, and sagacity, Donna Giuliana was at once employed at Court. Her above-named gifts, her surgical and medical knowledge, the marvellous energy shown in whatever she undertook, soon gained her the love, not only of the Queen, the Princesses and their Court, but the esteem of the Emperor, the Princes, and the Ombrai. To her was confided the education of all the Princes and Princesses, and of many children of the great court officials, so that some of the late Emperors, the present Emperor, several Princesses, many Princes, and great personages, call her mother or grandmother. Difficult and intricate business, precious treasures, and important family secrets have often been entrusted to her. She was the chosen arbiter to settle disputes, she comforted those in pain or in sorrow, and shielded many from grave disasters. In short, there are no great or lowly personages about the court to whom she has not rendered some kindly or valuable service. Bahdur-Sciah, son and successor of Emperor Oranzeb, was much devoted to her, and loved her as a mother; he made her keeper of his treasure, confided to her the most important secrets, and submitted every dispatch to her judgment. So, although he was the titular sovereign, the real government was in her skilful and prudent hands. She was so faithful and helpful to the Emperor that his love and esteem never wavered, and until his death he always regarded her as the prop and bulwark of his Empire and the choicest jewel of his crown. At the same time, she was so courteous and so liberal to nobles, common folk, and strangers, and so parsimonious towards her own family and herself, that even the Emperor, the court, and the people, sometimes blamed her. But she always fulfilled her duties to God and the Holy See, and heroically upheld the interests and precedence of our Religion. When

obliged, owing to her high position, to hoist a standard, she would have none other than that of the Holy Cross. Not only does she favour the Christians openly, but uses her great influence, especially with the Emperor, to exalt the truth and the excellence, and to expatiate on the mysteries, of our Religion. All this, added to her many virtues and talents and her prayers to the Saints, enabled her so to instruct the Court, and above all the Emperor, that nought seemed lacking to him but Baptism ; indeed, after his death many believed that on his death-bed he had been persuaded by Donna Giuliana to be received into the Church, but this I can hardly credit. It is true that he showed symptoms of devout love and belief in certain articles of our Holy Religion, as will be seen in the following anecdotes.

In former days the Mohammedans were inimical, and Oranzeb, the Emperor's father, was still more hostile, to all images ; but Bahdur-Sciah, forsaking the rituals of this false sect, used to pray as do the Christians, kneeling before a large and sacred image of our Lord Jesus Christ praying in the garden of Gethsemane. Again, in battle he evoked the aid of Souls in Purgatory, vowing to have many masses said for their release if he obtained the victory. This promise he kept. He also frequently sent liberal offerings to the churches, to our Lord Jesus Christ, the Blessed Virgin, and various Saints ; an example followed by great nobles of the Court, the Queens, the Princesses, and the present Emperor Mahammed-Sciah. Indeed, his mother, who by the intercession of St. John the Baptist had miraculously conceived this son, named him Hiaia [Yahya], which is St. John the Baptist in Arabic.[9] In the last years of his life the late Emperor Bahdur-Sciah used to send on Palm Sunday for a consecrated palm branch, and kept it in his room for the rest of the year. The reverence shown to the blessed palm was caused by a miracle

seen by him and many others. Fire suddenly broke out in his palace, a crowd assembled, and there was a great confusion as the lives of the Emperor and of others were endangered, when Donna Giuliana hastily fetched a consecrated palm branch from her room and threw it into the flames, turning with all her heart to God. In an instant the flames died down and all danger ceased. Those who had escaped death surrounded Donna Giuliana begging for an explanation of this mystery. Her words aroused in all who heard her, and especially in the Emperor, a lively faith in the efficacy of consecrated palms, the Church, and the Priests. These various incidents will suffice to prove the Christian virtues which animated Donna Giuliana in the high position she filled under Bahdur-Sciah, and in those less exalted under other Emperors, when she still continued to be treated with great respect and affection, and to wield considerable authority. Her devotion to the Holy See never wavered, which was an example to all Christians and a great benefit to our Mission ; indeed, she may be called the foundress, as she refunded to our Society all it, and the Portuguese nation, had lost in the district of Bombay. Our Father General has several times expressed his gratitude to her, and when I left Rome named her a member of our Confraternity, thus granting her a share in the Indulgences enjoyed by us. In the same year the King of Portugal sent her various presents and a magnificent letter, thanking her for her services to the Court of Mogol, to Christianity, Portugal, the States of Goa, and the part of India subject to his crown. The Dutch East India Company also acknowledged their obligations to Donna Giuliana. Indeed, her name is known and celebrated throughout this vast Empire. May God preserve her to us for many years.

For a long time she has been asking the Emperor's permission to retire from Court and enter the convent

of St. Monica at Goa, to devote herself to prayer and meditation on eternity. But the great and continual services she renders to the Court and the whole Empire were so necessary that none of the Emperors would grant her request. The public good, the benefits to Christianity and to our Mission have induced the Viceroy of Goa and our Fathers to oppose, with prayers and grave counsel, this pious and devout desire, which cannot vie with the merit she gains by the temporal and spiritual benefits bestowed by her on the people and the exaltation of our Holy Faith and the Divine Glory.

For the moment I shall say no more about Donna Giuliana, but return to the description of my journey.[10]

CHAPTER VI

Residence in Agra and some account of the Mission belonging to the Society of Jesus in that City.

(*MS. A, pp.* 35–41 ; *Fl. MS. f°* 14–17.)

THE excessive heat in these countries from the middle of May until the end of June is followed by continuous and very heavy rains until the end of September, when the rivers overflow and make travelling dangerous. Therefore the Rev. Father José da Silva, of our Society, who had been sent to Delly as Ambassador from the Viceroy at Goa to the Emperor Farrokh-Sier, thought it more advisable for me to go to our College at Agra, six days' journey from Delly, and wait there some months.

The city of Agra is also called Akbar-aabad [Akbar-ābād] after the famous Emperor Akbar, who was to a great extent the founder of the city. To describe the city of Agra, the splendid buildings, gardens, and sumptuous mausoleums, all of which may be said to rival the magnificence of Rome, would take too long, so I shall only give a few details concerning the origin and establishment of our Mission.

The Venerable Father Rudolf Aquaviva was the first of our Missionaries sent from Goa to Mogol, but he soon was forced to return. Later, when Akbar became Emperor,[11] he asked the head of our Mission at Goa to send some of the Fathers to explain to him the laws of the Christians. A Spaniard, Father Hieronime Xavier, a profound theologian, clever and endowed with every Christian virtue, at once went to Lahor [Lahore], where the Emperor then resided. He followed the Court to Agra, and there made the acquaintance of one of the chief Ombrai, an Armenian Catholic, high in the Emperor's favour. Anxious to help Father Hieronime Xavier to spread our Holy Faith in the Court and the Empire he, with great generosity, furnished our Society with abundant means for founding a College for our Missions in the City of Agra.

[*Several pages of the MS. are here omitted. They concern details of Aquaviva's life and martyrdom, and describe Father Hieronime Xavier's eminent qualities and his knowledge of languages, giving an account of his apologetic books written in Persian, and of his missionary work.*]

This was about 150 years ago, since when, without any notable persecutions, our Fathers have been esteemed and respected by the infidels, and not only protected by the Emperor, but by God himself, as manifested in the miracles which from time to time have enhanced the reputation of our Mission. Even in these days, by the grace of the Almighty, marvellous miracles have occurred at the tomb of Father Xavier by the intercession of Father Marc' Antonio Santucci, a native of Lucca, in Italy. Many are the people, not only Christians, but Muhammadans and pagans who come to pray at his tomb. It is said that the earth where he is buried cures every malady.[12] Our Mission at Agra has Christian adherents not only in the city itself, but in Delly and Lahor and for a long

time also in Kabu and Pesciaor [Peshawar], and in former days had Missionaries in the Rageput country, in the Kingdom of Sirinagar [Srinagar, Garhwal] and in remote parts of Thibet.

For the reasons already stated I remained three months in the College at Agra applying myself to the study of Persian, said to be talked in Thibet. I regretted the lost time as Hindustani would have been far more useful. As I had been sent from Goa to go all alone on such a long, dangerous journey, I took advantage of the presence of Father José da Silva to ask for some one to travel with me. He at once ordered a Portuguese Father who was at Delly to get ready to accompany me.[13]

CHAPTER VII

Departure from Delly. Arrival and Residence at Kascimir.

(MS. A, pp. 42–7; Fl. MS. f° 17–20. From this chapter onwards, cf. the description of the journey in Father Freyre's Account in the Appendix.)

The rainy season being over, we left Delly on the twenty-third of September, 1714 (*twenty-fourth in Freyre's account*), and journeyed northwards. On the ninth of October (*eleventh, according to Freyre*), we arrived at the famous city of Lahor, capital of the province of Pengiàb [Punjab], or the Five Waters, called thus from the five rivers which eventually flow into the Indus. The fortress near the river was the residence of several Emperors, the last two being Oranzeb and his son Bahdur-Sciah. It is a large and densely populated town with a milder climate than Delly, and several of the Mogol Emperors have occasionally resided there. As various writers have described the city, I shall only mention that in the magnificent garden of the palace I was shown a number of fine white marble statues of Jesus Christ, the Blessed Virgin, Angels, Apostles, and various

Saints. These had formerly been set up in good array, but in the reign of Oranzeb, a violent iconoclast as I have already said, they were taken down and hidden away in a room. We were kept nine days in Lahor by some business, during which time we administered the Sacraments to resident Christians who were without a priest, and baptized five neophytes who had received instruction. On the nineteenth we left Lahor and in a few days, after crossing the river Indus,[14] arrived at the city of Lesser Guzarat [Gujrat] where the immense plain of Mogol ends and the mountains of Caucasus begin.[15] The city is called Lesser Guzarat to distinguish it from the famous city of Amadabad, commonly called Guzarat, or Guzarat the Great.

On the twenty-eighth of October we took the mountain road leading to the city of Kascimir [Kashmir].[16] These mountains are like staircases piled one on the top of another ; the highest point is named Pirpangial [Pir Panjal], after a tutelary spirit held in high honour by the people. It is very high, steep, and difficult, being covered for several months with deep snow, while in the valleys the ice, resembling marble in hardness, never melts. Ice-cold torrents divide these mountains, so the road is always ascending and descending, which did not trouble me, but the continual wading through the cold streams was not only somewhat alarming, but gave me bad dysentery with loss of blood which continued for nine months. Notwithstanding the height, the steep slopes of these mountains are pleasant and enjoyable because of their fruitfulness and the number of different trees and plants which grow everywhere. The inhabitants are governed by various petty kings, and there are caravanserais at the end of every stage for the convenience of travellers.

On the thirteenth of November, 1714, we arrived at the city of Kascimir [or Srinagar] standing in a

wide and most pleasant plain surrounded on all sides by high mountains and densely populated by both Muhammadans and pagans. A big river flows through the middle of the city, and near by are large and beautiful lakes, whereon with much pleasure and amusement one can sail in small boats or in well-found larger vessels. A great many delightful gardens near or on the borders of these lakes form, as it were, a most ornamental garland round the city, which contains splendid buildings and well laid streets, squares, and bridges. The houses of merchants and of common people, and also some of the noble, are built of stone and brick, but outside they are of well and diligently carved timber. In the neighbourhood of the city are a few rather high hills on which stand fortresses. One of these is regarded with irrational reverence by this people, owing to a foolish fable that the city of Kascimir was founded by Solomon, and that an old ruin on the top of the hill was his palace. They call it Takht Solimán [Takt-i-Sulayman], or the throne of Solomon. On a certain day every year immense crowds go to the summit and celebrate the memory of Solomon's Throne with great festivities.

A Subá [Subadār], that is, the chief Governor of a Province and other Ministers, Imperial officials and several Ombrai, live in the city. Oranzeb, during his long reign, used to leave Lahor during the summer months and take up his residence in cool and pleasant Kascimir. The whole district round the city is not only beautiful, but extremely fertile, producing abundant crops, and a great variety of fruit, such as grapes, pears, apples, walnuts, peaches and apricots, plums, cherries, almonds, pistachio nuts, quinces, and similar fruit. In spring the many European flowers, which are not found in such quantities in other parts of Mogol, such as roses, tulips, anemones, narcissi, hyacinths, and the like, are a great delight to the people of the country and to all who happen

to be there. For these reasons Kascimir is called by every one in Mogol *Beheset* [Bihisht], which means "Terrestrial Paradise". Besides the fertility and beauty of the land there is a very considerable trade, especially in wool, with Second Thibet or Lhatá-yul [Ladak], which is a source of great riches to Kascimir. You must know that in Second Thibet, the capital of which is six weeks' journey from Kascimir by a most precipitous road, there are untold numbers of sheep and geldings whose wool is very white, very long, and extraordinarily fine. The merchants of Kascimir keep a large number of agents in Second Thibet who collect the wool during the year, paying a most miserable price; and in May, June, July, and August, thousands and thousands of men go from Kascimir to Lhè [Leh], otherwise called Lhatá, the capital of Second Thibet, and carry back infinite number of loads of wool; this is spun in Kascimir to marvellously fine thread from which is woven the thin, very delicate Kascimir cloth, renowned all over India. Also the woollen kerchiefs for the head are highly valued, and the Pattea [Puttoo], long cloth-strips folded several times which serve as waistbands. But most precious and magnificent are the cloths called *scial* in both Hindustan and Persian.[17] These *scials* are cloaks which envelop the head while the ends fall on either side of the body; thus the head, neck, shoulders, arms, breast, the back till below the hips and nearly to the knees are protected. These cloaks are so fine, delicate, and soft that though very wide and long they can be folded into so small a space as almost to be hidden in a closed hand. At the same time, although so fine and thin, they not only keep out the cold, but really warm the body; they are therefore much worn in winter. The very fine and large ones are very dear, indeed in remote regions the price may be called exorbitant.

When we arrived in Kascimir the great cold had

already begun and snow was falling on the mountains ; it takes a long time to melt and is so deep that all the roads were blocked, especially the one to Thibet. As it was impossible to continue our journey, I took a house and we remained six whole months in Kascimir, Although I was still very ill with dysentery, indeed, almost at death's door, I continued to study Persian. We had letters of introduction from the Court and also from nobles of Lahor to the Subá, the Divan and other nobles of Kascimir, who not only treated us with honour, but when we left gave us passports and letters to a Kinglet, to the King of Second Thibet and his Prime Ministers, and to other people.

CHAPTER VIII

Our Departure from Kascimir and Journey to Lhatá, Capital of Second Thibet.

(*MS. A, pp.* 47–54 ; *Fl. MS., f°* 20–3.)

On the seventeenth of May, 1715, when the snow began to melt and the roads became practicable, we left the city of Kascimir, and only reached the end of the hilly but pleasant and fertile and well populated district of Kascimir on the twenty-ninth. We then found ourselves at the foot of a very high, steep, and formidable mountain called Kantel, on whose summit is the boundary between Kascimir and Lesser Thibet, called in Persian Khoval [Kalan] Thibet, in Hindustan Ciota [Chhota] Thibet (both words bearing the same meaning) and called by the inhabitants " Baltistan ".

From the foot of Kantel it is a nine months' journey to China, during which all fertility and vegetation ceases, nought is to be seen save the arid, barren desolation and horror of the Caucasus mountains, called by geographers *Dorsum orbis*.

On the thirtieth of May, which was Ascension Day, we began the ascent of the mountain covered with deep

snow and hard ice. Heavy snow fell all day long. In the evening we arrived at the first inhabited spot of First or Lesser Thibet at the foot of the other side of Mount Kantel. The language of this region, although different from that spoken in Third Thibet, is evidently derived from the same root. There are no cities, only villages, and the houses are generally more than half buried underground. The only crops are barley, wheat, a few vegetables, and apricots. The religion of this people was originally the same as in Second Thibet, but as they are now under the Emperor of Mogol, nearly all have become Muhammadans. The country is governed by the Subà of Kascimir who, with the Emperor's permission, sends governors of inferior rank in his stead, as the district is small.

A few days later we entered Second Thibet, known in Persian and Hindustan as Thibet Kalan and Barà Thibet, which means Great Thibet, while by the natives it is called Lhatá-yul. The first villages on this side of the mountain belonging to the said kingdom are ruled by a Kinglet, who is a Muhammadan, but he is subject to the absolute Sovereign of Second Thibet. When we came near the fortress, standing on a high hill, in which he resides, we sent our letters of introduction and begged him to permit us to pass freely through his dominions. He invited us to visit him on the following morning, received us with much honour and many compliments, and invited us to dine with him. On the following day he returned our visit with a large retinue and much pomp, and asked us to go with him to see an exhibition of cavalry exercises and games. Ere we departed the next day he not only gave us the passports we had asked for, but sent us a fine present, some money to our servants, and men to guide us where we had to cross a rather alarming bridge. On reaching a certain point we found the mountain to the left was inaccessible, there being no road, but one was to be seen on the

opposite mountain. Between the two was a wide and rapid torrent impossible to cross by either wading or swimming. Travellers are therefore obliged to use a bridge made of twisted willows. From one mountain to the other two thick ropes of willow are stretched nearly four feet apart, to which are attached hanging loops of smaller ropes of willow about one foot and a half distant from one another. One must stretch out one's arms and hold fast to the thicker ropes while putting one foot after the other into the hanging loops to reach the opposite side. With every step the bridge sways from right to left, and from left to right, therefore only one person at a time can cross. Besides this, one is so high above the river, and the bridge is so open on all sides, that the rush of water beneath dazzles the eyes and makes one dizzy. When we had crossed this bridge the above-mentioned guides left us and we continued our journey.[18]

After some days we reached an important town where the son of the Prime Minister[19] of the absolute King of this country was Governor. He heard of our arrival and sent to invite us to his palace, where he treated us with much honour, and on our departure gave us some presents and a letter of introduction to his father.

On the twentieth of June, 1715, we arrived at the city of Lhe otherwise Lhatá, capital of Second Thibet. The journey from Kascimir to Lhatà, which takes forty days, can only be accomplished on foot. The path, so narrow that we were obliged to go in single file, leads up the sides of very high and terrible mountains ; in places it had been destroyed by avalanches or heavy rains and there was no foothold. Then the guide would go in front and cut a step the size of a man's foot with his axe, and giving me his left hand helped me to put my foot into the step while he excavated another, until we

again struck the narrow path. In other places the mountain was still so covered with ice and snow that the risk on the narrow pathway was great; if your foot slipped nothing could save you from falling headlong down into the torrent below. Many of the men who, as I have said, go from Kascimir to fetch loads of wool, lose their lives or are crippled for ever. One of our servants slipped on the ice, fell, and rolled down the mountain side. We feared he was lost, but the load strapped on his shoulders fortunately buried itself in the snow and checked his fall. Thus the other men were able to go down carefully and save their comrade and his load. The reflected rays of the sun from the snow, in which we marched all day, caused my eyes to inflame, and I was in some fear for my sight. While in a part of the valley between two high and steep mountains, I was moved by a curiosity to go and examine a big rock shaped roughly like an elephant, not artificially, but by nature. Suddenly my companion and the servants shouted aloud to me, and I had hardly gone twenty paces when, with a noise like loud thunder, a huge mass of congealed snow fell from the mountain above on the very spot I had just left. In some places there was really no road at all, only large boulders and rocks covered the ground, over which we had to climb like goats with great trouble and difficulty. As no animal can travel over such bad roads, the whole journey from Kascimir to Lhatá, which, as I have already said, takes forty days, must be done on foot and, as the land produces nothing and is sparsely inhabited, all provisions—that is, rice, vegetables, and butter, as well as luggage—must be carried by men. To conclude, I may say that from Kascimir to the end of the Great Desert, which I shall describe later, is a journey of five months, during which there is no shelter; in rain, snow, or hard frost one has to pass the night in the open country.

Second Thibet, or Lhatá-yul [Ladak], is two months'

journey in length ; it borders on the North with the kingdoms of Kaskar [Kashgar] and Yarkand, to the south with the Kingdom of Collahor [Kulu?], on the west with Lesser Thibet or Baltistan, and on the east with the great Desert of Ngnari Giongar [Ngari Jungar].[20] It is mountainous, sterile, and altogether horrible. Barley is the chief product ; a little wheat is grown, and in some places apricots. Trees are scarce, so wood is hard to procure. There are many sheep, especially very large geldings ; their flesh is most excellent, and their wool extraordinarily fine. Musk deer also exist. In valleys at the foot of mountains, and also near streams, the natives find a good deal of gold, not in large nuggets, but as gold dust. They eat meat, and the flour of roasted barley, and drink Ciang [Chang], a sort of beer made from barley, which I shall mention hereafter. Their clothes, made of wool, are of suitable shape and make. They are not at all arrogant, but rather submissive, kindly, cheerful, and courteous. The language of this country does not differ much from that of Third Thibet, and the Religion and books relating to religion are similar. There are numerous monasteries and a great many monks ; their superior is a chief Lamá, who, to qualify for the post, must have studied for some years in a University in Third Thibet, as must any monk who aspires to be promoted to a higher grade. A number of merchants from Kascimir engaged in the wool trade live in this Kingdom, and they are allowed to have mosques and openly to hold their religion.[21] Occasionally merchants come from the kingdom of Kotan [Khotan] with well-bred horses, cotton goods, and other merchandise. Some come from Third Thibet by way of the great desert and bring tea and tobacco, bales of silk, and other things from China. There are villages but only one city in this kingdom. Lhe or Lhatá, which is the capital where the Grand Lamá and the absolute Sovereign live. It is situated

in a large plain surrounded by mountains, and dotted with villages. The city at the foot of the hill gradually extends upwards until you reach the Residence of the Grand Lamá and the Royal Palace,[22] both large, fine buildings. Above, nearly on the summit of the hill, is a fortress, while the city is defended by walls on either side and below. The houses, strongly built, are roomy and well adapted to the country.

CHAPTER IX

Of our Stay in Lhatá, Capital of Second Thibet, and our Arrival at Trescij-Khang.

(*MS. A, pp.* 54–7 ; *Fl. MS., f°* 23–5.)

Our arrival in the city of Lhatá was at once known to the King who, ere we had time to deliver our letters of introduction, sent to invite us to an interview. He received us most kindly, as being men from a far-off country, and with much honour as Lamás [bLa-ma] or Doctors of Law, and promised us his protection without referring to the letters we presented. The Grand Lamá, the Longbó [bLon-po], or Prime Minister, and the other chief ministers treated us in like manner. Later they all sent us presents. At our first audience the King was seated on his throne surrounded by his ministers and all his court, but afterwards, during the two months we spent at Lhe, he often asked us to the Palace without any ceremony. Soon the merchants of Kascimir became jealous of our familiar intercourse with the King and the court, and spread the report that, while pretending to be Doctors of Law, we really were rich merchants with quantities of pearls and precious stones, and rare foreign goods. When the King heard this, he sent one of his ministers, brother of the Longbó, to ask us not to sell in any other place or to other people as he wished to buy, assuring us

that we should be satisfied with the price he would give. We replied that he had been very ill-informed by whoever spread such a report, that our precious goods consisted solely in teaching the true Law which leads to Heaven and eternal salvation. But the King thought this was a pretext suggested by a doubt of not being paid by him. So he sent the Minister to us again with expressions of high esteem and renewed assurances that we need not fear any loss, or leave the country dissatisfied with his treatment. When we found that our protestations had not convinced the Minister, we begged him to see with his eyes and touch with his hands our small baggage. He most courteously replied that our word was sufficient, and it was only after repeated demands, and even supplications, that at last he looked at all we had, and found nothing but some books and manuscripts, a few clothes and common utensils, and money for our journey. He went back to the King and told what he had seen and that we had spoken the truth, and that all the tales about jewels were false and malignant lies. The King, who loves justice, at once gave orders that none of the merchants of Kascimir were to be permitted to enter the Court or to approach his palace, and sent to ask us to bring some of our things for him to see. He made almost too courteous excuses, and examined with interest our breviaries, images, medals, and other things, asking questions and saying he had been more pleased to see them than to see the most precious jewels, or rare merchandise. After a long and most friendly audience the King dismissed us and at once sent us another present. In this and other interviews both the King and the Longbó expressed a wish that we should stay in that city and practise as doctors of our Law. I can hardly tell you how great was the temptation to do missionary work in a place which seemed to offer so good a field for our labours. But after praying to God for guidance,

we consulted together and decided to continue our journey to Third and Principal Thibet as being the head and centre of that false sect, and also because Father Antonio de Andrade and other missionaries of our Society after him had once been there [*see Note* 35]. We therefore began to prepare for our departure. The King gave orders that we were to have every assistance in buying horses and other needful things, and when we took leave, not only bestowed on us more presents, but gave us passports to the Governors under him, and special letters of introduction to the Lamá, the Governor and the Castellan of a town called Trescij-Khang [Tashigong], of which more hereafter.

On the seventeenth of August, 1715 (*Freyre has the sixteenth*), we left Lhatá with some guides and only reached the confines of Second Thibet on the seventh of September. For some days the country was mountainous, but inhabited, until we came to wide plains called Ciang Thang [Chang Thang], or Country of the North. On these plains are many pools of stagnant and putrid water, sulphur mines and sulphurous springs. The putrid water and noxious air is dangerous to man and beast, causing a painful inflammation of the gums and lips which is sometimes fatal. The only remedy is to abstain as far as possible fron drinking the water, and to chew aromatic herbs, particularly aloes. Horses are treated in like manner, the herbs being mixed with the flour of parched barley, put into water, which is their usual food.[23]

On the seventh of September we arrived at Trescij-Khang, or "Abode of Mirth", a town on the frontier between Second and Third Thibet, defended by strong walls and a deep ditch with drawbridges. The Castellan and the Governor live in the fortress with a strong garrison, it being the frontier; but especially to guard against the

Giongars [Dzungarians], Tartars of Independent High Tartary, ambitious, untrustworthy and treacherous men. Thanks to our letters from the King of Second Thibet we were most honourably received by the Lamá, Governor and Castellan of Trescij-Khang.

CHAPTER X

Journey across the Great Desert of Ngnari Giongar, and Assistance rendered by a Tartar Princess and her Followers.

(*MS. A, pp.* 52–68; *Fl. MS. f°* 25–30.)

TRESCIJ-KHANG lies on the edge of a vast, sterile and terrible desert, to cross which takes about three months. We could find no guide, and for us to attempt such a journey alone meant certain death. The Lamá, the Governor, and the Castellan took much trouble to find someone who knew the desert or who was returning to Third Thibet. Some time passed and then God, who never abandons those who put their trust in Him, provided us with the best escort that can be imagined. Two days' journey fron Trescij-Khang is a large district called Cartoa [Gartok],[24] garrisoned by a strong body of Tartar and Thibetan troops subject to the King of Third Thibet, not only to defend Trescij-Khang and divers villages, but to prevent armed bandits from approaching by little known paths and invading the country. At the head of these troops was a Tartar Prince, and since his death two years before, his wife had been in command [*by name Caçal, according to Freyre*). She had now obtained permission to return with her soldiers to Lhasá, the garrison being replaced by new troops under another commander, and early in October she came to Trescij-Khang to make the last arrangements. We were presented and begged her to allow us to travel under her protection to Lhasá. With most kind words the

Princess replied that she would do all in her power not only to help us, but to make the long and difficult journey as pleasant as possible; adding that she esteemed it a great honour to be able to assist two Lamás from a distant land. During the short time she was at Trescij-Khang she insisted on our dining with her every day.

On October the ninth (*Freyre has the eighth*), having made all necessary preparations, we left Trescij-Khang, and on the eleventh arrived at Cartoa, where we waited until the Princess was ready to depart.

At the head of our caravan rode a number of the Princess's servants and some squadrons of Tartar cavalry, followed by the Princess and her Tartar ladies, all on horseback, her ministers and the officers of her army; then came more Tartar cavalry with whom we generally rode; the rear guard was composed of cavalry, partly Tartar, partly Thibetan, the baggage train, provisions, and a crowd of men on foot and led horses. We left Cartoa in the second half of October, and arrived at the highest point reached during the whole journey in this desert called Ngnari-Giongar (*see Note* 20) on the ninth of November. It is held in much veneration by all this people, because of a certain Urghien (*see Book III*), founder of the present Thibetan religion, of whom I shall speak later. Close by is a mountain of excessive height and great circumference, always enveloped in cloud, covered with snow and ice, and most horrible, barren, steep, and bitterly cold [Mount Kailas]. In a cave hollowed out of the live rock the above named Urghien is said to have lived for some time in absolute solitude, self-mortification, and continual religious meditation. The cave is now a temple consecrated to him, with a rude, miserable monastery attached, where dwells a Lamá with a few monks who serve the temple. Besides visiting the cave, to which they always bring offerings, the Thibetan

walk most devoutly round the base of the mountain, which takes several days and they believe will procure them great indulgences.

Owing to the snow on this mountain my eyes became so inflamed that I well nigh lost my sight. I had no spectacles, and the only remedy, as I learnt from our escort, was to rub the eyes with snow.

Winter is the best time for travelling in these countries, because the snow gives water for drinking and in summer the roads are impracticable for three months owing to the rain. Of course it is not necessary to take this road unless, like ourselves, people travel to Thibet from Kascimir.

On December the first we reached more level country almost free of snow, called Toscioá, where we halted two days to rest men and horses. There we found several tents of the herdsmen who roam all over the desert pasturing the herds of horses, mules, and especially mountain cows belonging to the Grand Lamá and the King. Farther on we came to a plain called Retoa, where there is a lake so large that it takes people several days to walk round. It is believed to be the source of the Ganges. But from my own observation and from what I heard from various people who knew this country and the whole of Mogol, it seemed that the above mentioned mountain Ngnari Giongar must be regarded as the fountain head not only of the river Ganges, but also of the Indus. Mount Ngnari Giongar being the highest point of this region the water drains off on two sides. To the west it flows through Second Thibet to Lesser Thibet until it reaches the Mountains of Kascimir, and finally, near Lesser Guzarat forms the wide, navigable river Indus (*see Note* 14). On the eastern side, another large body of water flows into lake Retoa and eventually forms the river Ganges. This agrees with the detailed accounts in old writers about the gold

sand found in the Ganges. They must have lied if the source of the great river is elsewhere, for it is only on the banks and in the sand of Lake Retoa that any large quantity of gold is collected, being washed down from the Mountain Ngnari Giongar by heavy rains and melting snow. If it is admitted that the fountain head of the river Ganges is on this mountain then the old writers speak the truth, and my observations confirm their words. Thibettans and merchants come there from time to time to search for and collect the gold sand, to their great profit; and as I have already said, this superstitious people make pilgrimages to the lake, devoutly walk round it and think thereby to gain great indulgences.[25]

On the twenty-second of December we reached another large plain and found more tents belonging to men tending herds of cattle, the property of the King or the Grand Lamá. I must not forget to add that although this great Desert is so barren and uninhabited it yields a considerable revenue to the King and the Grand Lamá by reason not only of the quantity of gold, but of the innumerable loads of most exquisite butter made from the milk of these mountain cows, the duties paid by merchants passing through Cartoa, and divers other things.

On the fourth of January, 1716, we at last quitted the great Desert and arrived at a big place called Ser-kia [Saka dzong] (*also spelt Serchia*) well fortified as beseems a frontier town, where dwelt a great Governor, head of the province of Zang-to [Upper Tsang].[26]

Having given you but a brief description of our journey across the Desert I must add a few details for the better understanding of the difficulties. To begin with, for three whole months the traveller finds no village, nor any living creature; he must therefore take with him all provisions, such as tea, butter, flour or parched barley and meat, which

becomes so frozen that, like our ham, it will keep for a long time. Not only must one carry provisions for the men, but barley and flour for the horses, the ground being generally so covered with snow that they can find no food. Water is frozen hard and for cooking you have to thaw snow or ice over a fire. Now wood is not to be found in the desert, save here and there a few prickly bushes, and to make a fire one has to search for the dry dung of horse and cattle. Your bed at night is the earth, off which you often have to scrape the snow, and your roof is the sky, from which falls snow and sleet. You can, it is true, have camp tents of Tartar fashion, like a round house and portable, but animals are needed to carry them and servants to pitch them. The common linen tents afford some comfort, but are extremely inconvenient, because of the difficulty of driving the big iron pegs into sandy or frozen ground to keep them steady against the prevailing violent winds. Snow and frost also render them stiff and very heavy. Clothes are another great difficulty. Should you desire to be clean and decently dressed, you are exposed to the bitter cold and run the risk of losing nose, fingers, toes and even your life. If you look to utility instead of cleanliness, you must bear the great weight of sheepskins and put up with the dirt and the insects which accumulate after long wear. Before leaving Trescij-Khang we, our three Christian servants, and the infidel interpreter bought Posctin [*poshtin*], or Tartar coats, much used also by the Thibetans and by priests when on a journey. They are made of sheepskin and reach to the knees, the wool is inside, and the outside skin is covered with fine woollen cloth or coloured cotton which comes from China. As they do not protect the legs or the head, I had made in Trescij-Khang for ourselves and for our people some long boots of sheepskin, and caps which not only cover the head,

but the ears and the neck. I afterwards found that my invention, suggested partly by self-love and partly to protect our servants against frostbite or even death, were in common use among our escort. Tartars and Thibetans also cover their faces with a kind of half-mask made of fine lambskin, and these I bought. To save the eyes from the reflection of the sun's rays off the snow, they wear a concave shield woven of black horse- or ox-hair. Although this journey is made on horseback and not on foot, yet it is most irksome on account of starting every morning before sunrise and not dismounting till the sun sets ; and what with the mountains, ice, dearth of pasture and continual snow, many horses die on the road. We left Lhatá with seven horses ; only two reached Lhasá, one worn out and with many sores, the other in such bad condition that it died a few days after our arrival. Add to this the dangerous roads in such a horrible country, always going up and down those terrible mountains in the midst of snow and ice, exposed to most inclement weather and biting cold winds.

I will briefly describe to you our life. At daybreak we two Fathers got up, took down the frozen camp tent and loaded it on a horse, with our money and a few necessary things, then we saddled our horses and those of our servants and of our interpreter, drank our tea or *cia* [cha], and collected the kitchen utensils. We then rode till sunset. When we reached the camping ground and selected a place as free from snow as possible, we set up our tent, searched for big stones to keep it steady, unsaddled the horses, unpacked our bundles, and then went to find dry horse and cattle dung for the fire. While our servants prepared the dinner we Fathers said matins and lauds for the following day and other prayers. Then having seen our horses well covered, watered and fed, we retired to rest. The night was rather a cessation

of fatigue than real repose, for the intense cold and the intolerable annoyance of the insects harboured in our clothes prevented any real sleep.

But in all this discomfort and suffering we were much comforted by the loving kindness and paternal assistance of God, in whose service alone we had undertaken this journey and exposed ourselves willingly to whatever might happen. Thus we hardly felt the hardships, but with courage, good health and contented minds we conversed together, and with others, as though we were travelling for amusement and pleasure. A great help to us also was the kindly, almost maternal, interest the Princess took in our welfare. For instance, the difficulty, as I have already said, of finding materials for a fire, or fodder for our tired horses was great, and almost every evening she would send us a little from her own store; again, she occasionally sent us a live sheep or some game, rice and suchlike things. As I had learnt a little of the language from our interpreter, she would call me to her side along the road, and when we arrived at the camping place she would order my horse to be cared for and invite me to her tent, which had been already prepared, until the other Father and our people came up; give me some refreshment and ask me about our country, Europe, our customs, our Holy Law, the images of Saints in my Breviary, my manner of praying and the meaning of my prayers, my journeys in other countries and the customs I had noticed there.

On the twenty-second of November, when it was already getting dark, thinking the other Father had arrived with our people, I took leave of the Princess; but could find no one. Much troubled, I waited till about the third hour of the night, when at last our three Christian servants arrived with the baggage horse. I anxiously asked about the Father and the interpreter; they said that by his orders they had

left them behind; the Father's horse having fallen exhausted in the snow, he decided to wait until the poor beast recovered a little. Still more alarmed I went to find the Gubra or Prime Minister of the Princess, and heard he was in her tent. So I sent in a message begging him to grant me a moment's interview. The Princess at once ordered me to come in and tell her what I wanted, and commanded some Tartar horsemen to go at once with a led horse to find the Father, and made me sit down to supper with her. The night was quite dark and the Tartars went back on our steps shouting aloud, and after a long time found the Father buried in snow and the interpreter half frozen. They had been unable to make the horse get up and as all the rearguard had passed they did not dare to move lest they should entirely lose their way. The Tartars lifted the Father on to the led horse and the interpreter on to his, which was in pretty good condition, and conducted them to our tent, where by orders of the Princess a good fire had been lit and supper prepared. In addition to all this the Princess sent next morning to ask how the Father was, and one of her own horses for his use until we could in some way buy another. A few days later, owing to constant ascending and descending mountains in deep snow, my horse refused to move; dismounting I found a big sore on his back. So I led him, hurrying as fast as I could after the others. The Princess who happened to pass by told me to mount and ride near her until we reached the camping ground. I showed her what a state my horse was in, when she at once ordered one of her officers to give me his and that evening she arranged that two of her horses were to be at our service until the end of the journey. I could tell you many other things, but pass them over as being too prolix; these will suffice to demonstrate the Divine assistance which provided us with such

an escort, without which it would have been very difficult for us to have survived such a difficult and dangerous journey.

When we arrived at Lhasá the Princess stayed but a short time at the Court and soon went elsewhere into a convent of their sect where she became a nun. So that when I had really mastered the language I could not, as I so heartily wished, see her again and have the opportunity to initiate her into our Holy Faith. But I pray to God constantly and fervently to recompense her for all the benefits bestowed on us, to illuminate her, convert her, and grant her eternal salvation.

CHAPTER XI

Arrival at the first inhabited Place in Third and Greatest Thibet. Continuation of the Journey to the Capital. Visits to the King and the Ministers. Commencement of my Mission in that Kingdom.

(*MS. A*, pp. 69–75 ; *Fl. MS. f°* 30–4.)

As already mentioned, on the fourth of January, 1716, we reached the first inhabited place, called Serchia (*or Ser-kia*), where the Princess fell seriously ill. Thus the whole caravan was stopped. She sent to beg us not to proceed as she wished to have the glory of conducting us safely to the end of our long journey. On the twenty-eighth she was much better and we started again. We passed many small villages, but only two towns, Secchia and Giegazzè [Sakya and Shigatse],[27] of which I shall speak later when I describe this Third Thibet. In both places we stayed a few days. Finally, two years and four months after I left Goa, and one year and a half since our departure from Delly, and ten whole months since leaving Kascimir, we arrived, by the grace of God, on the eighteenth day of March, 1716, at the city of Lhasá, capital of this Thibet, which once before had been selected

as a seat of our Missions. My companion had always lived in hot climates and feared the intense cold and the thin air, so after staying a few days at Lhasá to recuperate, he left (*on April sixteenth*) by the more frequented road through Nepal and returned to Hindustan. Thus I remained for some time alone, the only Missionary, indeed the only European in this immense country of the three Thibets.

Now, having recounted my journey from Goa to Lhasá, I shall proceed to give a short account of my sojourn in that Kingdom, of what I was able to accomplish for that Mission and of some things that befell me there. Shortly after our arrival at Lhasá, I was summoned to the palace and received by a high Tartar official named Ton-drup-ze-ring, Commander-in-chief of the army. With great courtesy and kindliness he asked me from whence I had come, what was my rank and profession, what business had brought me to the Kingdom, and how long I wished to remain. I told him I had come from a far distant land, separated from his not only by vast and innumerable countries, but by great and wide seas; from the West I had come to the East; from Europe to Thibet. As to my rank I was a priest, and by profession a Lamá, bound by my religion and office to guide others into the straight path to rescue them from error and to teach them our Holy Faith, by which alone they could attain Heaven and eternal salvation. This, I said, was my only business, for I saw they were all immersed in error, and had no one to show them the fetters by which they were bound, or the precipices into which they would fall headlong and go to eternal perdition. I had come this long and perilous journey from one end of the earth to the other, across many seas and over many countries only to bring the light of the Gospel and disperse the dark cloud of ignorance

in which they were enveloped. In short, by these and other similes I sought to make him understand that I had no other motive and had come to Thibet solely to teach our Holy Faith. As to the length of my stay I said that unless prevented by the King or by orders from my Superior, all I desired was to continue my work as long as life was granted me. By the grace of God, my replies pleased the Commander-in-chief, who expressed himself well satisfied with my answers and greatly encouraged me by saying that not only was I free to continue my work, but that the King, and all of them, would like to hear my important news. Then with declarations of friendship and protection he dismissed me and went to report the result of our interview to the King.

Another Tartar called Targum-trescij [sDe-srid], Prime Minister and high in the King's favour, sent for me and said he would not only help and protect me, but be a real and loyal friend. This was most cheering to me, not so much for the promised protection in this remote country, but because it might enable me little by little to obtain permission to teach our Holy Faith in this Kingdom without hindrance, even perhaps gradually in the Court itself. On the twenty-eighth of April, as had been arranged, I went to the Palace, but found the Minister was in the King's private apartments. On hearing I was there he came out and took me into his own rooms and with expressions of affection and much honour renewed his cordial assurances of enduring friendship, insisting that I should promise the same to him. These were no idle words, as from that day he gave me so many proofs of real friendship that all were astonished to see such familiarity between two men of different races who had never met before. Knowing that I was in the palace, the King expressed a wish to speak with me, and the Minister offered to introduce me in a private audience. But for various reasons

one being that his curiosity to see me might perhaps be increased, I humbly refused such a great honour, alleging that it was not the custom to appear before a great personage with empty hands, and that I had nothing then to offer. He assured me that the King would not mind my coming before him with empty hands and tried to persuade me to go with him. But I declined and promised to return to the palace in two days. So I went to my house and bought some things from foreign merchants ; adding two *pietre cordiali*, called Gaspar Antonio stones, a *cocco* (*pot ?*) of Brazilian Balsam and a small vase of Balsam against apoplexy ; to all these I attached a label, written in the Thibettan language and characters explaining their efficacy and how they should be used.[28] On the first of May I went to the rooms in the palace occupied by the Viceroy (*the Prime Minister Targum-trescij*), who, after examining the presents, took me with a great number of Lamás, Governors, and other people to the audience. According to their custom inside the door of the great hall were officers deputed to take the presents from those who entered. I was about to give mine when the King, who had been told by the Viceroy that I was there, looked towards me and made a sign that I was to bring my presents to the foot of the throne. He looked attentively at everything, caused the labels to be read to him, and was evidently pleased, as he ordered them to be placed by his side. Then commanding everyone to be seated, he motioned me to sit opposite him, not far from the throne. He spoke first to one of the principal Lamás and then to another ; then turning to me asked many questions, and at last demanded what had brought me from such a distant country. I answered him as I had answered the Minister, and he then questioned me about some points in our religion and asked what was our opinion with regard to theirs. Answering

in as suitable a manner as possible I seized this auspicious occasion, and most humbly begged the King to grant me permission to speak freely and without hindrance and to explain the truth of our Holy Faith in public and in private, to him, to his Court, and all his subjects. The King gave me the desired permission in a most complimentary speech, and addressing himself to the people present praised me as being well versed in all science, an emphatic, persuasive speaker and resolute in upholding truth in a candid and sincere manner. Turning to me he declared the liking he felt for me, promising that he would care for me as a father cares for his son ; and that I could remain without fear in his Kingdom and Capital, for if anyone attempted to molest me he would himself protect me ; adding that I was to perfect myself in the language so that he could converse freely with me without an interpreter and being desirous to talk with me occasionally that he would send for me and orders should be given to admit me to his presence whenever I wanted to see him.

At midday, without saying a word to anyone else, the King dismissed us, and I cannot describe the astonishment of the company at the partiality and condescension shown to me. When I left the hall with the Viceroy, who took me to his rooms, the people crowded round to congratulate me, some even came to my house or sent messages of congratulation.

My Mission, by the grace of God, having begun thus happily, I applied myself with the greatest ardour to my apostolic work, and especially to the study of the language. From that day until I left Thibet I made it a rule to study from early morning till sundown, and for nearly six years took nothing during the day save *cia* to drink, except on solemn feast days, or any extraordinary occasion.

CHAPTER XII

Protection given by the King to the Author, who in his turn assists Him and the Prime Minister in time of Peril. Their Expressions of Gratitude. Their Gifts refused.

(*MS. A, pp.* 75–80; *Fl. MS. f°* 34–7.)

TOWARDS the end of May the custom-house officers sent to claim 120 rupees for duty on goods passed by us at Cartoa, frontier town of the Kingdom. Surprised at this demand, I replied that we were not merchants and had no merchandise, and therefore could have nothing to pay. The men came back ordering me to pay the said sum in one hour. I at once sent my teacher to the Viceroy who bade me go to him the following morning, and at the same time gave order that the custom-house officers were not to molest me. Next morning I went to the palace and the Viceroy sent me with two of his officers and some servants to the custom officials. The King happened to be on a balcony when I left the palace with the officers, and sent to ask what had brought me there and whither I was going. The Viceroy informed him, whereupon he called me back and told me to go quietly to my house and that if anyone annoyed me again I was to come to him. At the same time he gave orders that the custom-house officers were to leave me in peace, and at once to apologize for their behaviour, which they did.

A few days later the King and the Viceroy were very ill owing to a strong poison administered twice to them some time before (as I shall mention later) and from the effects of which they still occasionally suffered. Ever since my first interview the King or the Viceroy had sent a monk, a court chaplain, daily to my house to ask how I was and to see what progress I was making in the language. The news

of their illness made me very sorrowful. Taking the messenger by the hand I led him into my room, showed him a vase of Roman *teriaca*[29] standing by my bedside, explained its excellent qualities and rather exaggerated the store I set by it; for travelling in strange countries and among unknown people I kept it jealously as a protection to my life. But declaring that I valued the lives of the King and the Viceroy more than my own, I begged him to carry the vase at once to the Palace, and told him the proper dose, assuring him that they would soon feel better. The Chaplain took the medicine and gave my message to the King and the Viceroy, and it pleased God that they both slept soundly and felt quite well and strong next morning. The affection and consideration they had hitherto shown me were as nothing compared to their present manifestations of favour, protection, and gratitude for what I had done.

It had always been customary for the King to leave Lhasá and go North on the eighth of June to Dam, and pass the hot summer months in the cool woods and in hunting, leaving the government in the hands of the Viceroy. Several times I received inquiries from Dam as to my health, and when the Viceroy returned to Lhasá early in August, after spending a few days with the King, he sent for me and said his Lord had recommended me most affectionately to him. Therefore, he continued, you see me without attendants or ceremony, and with only the General-in-chief and this other Tartar Minister, both your good friends, so that we and you and you and we can talk freely together on a matter of importance entrusted to us. You know how the King loves you; like a father who thinks day and night what he can do to benefit a beloved son, he is carefully considering how to make known to you and to the Kingdom how highly he values you; so he desires to do something which will give

you pleasure. Therefore by the love he bears you, and the ability you have shown in pleasing him, he bids you, nay he deigns to beg that, with your usual sprightly sincerity which he likes so much and with perfect freedom you are to ask whatever you desire. We promise in the King's name that what you ask will at once be granted. Trying to reply in a suitable manner, with humble respect, affectionate gratitude and infinite thanks, I declared that I desired nothing from the King, or from them, save that they would continue, for their own good, to listen to, and reflect on, the important truths of our Holy Faith, and permit me to teach it in public, by word of mouth and by writing in the Kingdom. The King, being a relation of the Emperor of China and well informed about that Court, knows well that for many years European missionaries have been employed in that Empire in the same duties which I had come here to fulfil. Also that many Fathers were in the Empire of Mogol, with which they were acquainted, and all over the world, in many kingdoms, islands, empires and places inhabited by people quite unknown until discovered through their zeal and Apostolic diligence. That many of these men were of noble birth or distinguished for their learning and greatly beloved and respected by their superiors. Yet they undertook such long and perilous journeys and underwent such hardships, not for gain or wordly advantage but, abandoning their fatherland and all they possessed, go to remote countries to preach their glorious ministry; happy if, when teaching the truth of the Gospel, they even lost their lives. Like these men, though with faltering steps and inadequate strength, I had come animated with the same spirit, only aspiring to disseminate Truth and the Gospel of Salvation solely for their good, as all I longed was their eternal happiness, for which I was willing to expend all my strength

and the rest of my life. This answer touched them deeply, and the Viceroy and two other Tartars praised the generosity, disinterestedness, and endurance of our Missionaries. Still they continued, alleging the King's orders, to try and induce me to ask some favour. I again refused, more briefly, but decidedly, and the discussion lasted till nightfall when, praising my constancy and sentiments, the like of which they had never met, I was dismissed. The King was fully informed of this conversation and his astonishment was great when he heard my resolute refusal to accept anything that had been offered to me. The disinterested devotion and zeal of our Missionaries also touched him deeply and increased the esteem and affection with which he regarded me; in so much that he began to be persuaded there might be some truth in the doctrine taught by our Fathers and preachers, and that therefore the man who had come to teach these truths ought to be listened to with care and attention. In fact he sent to tell me that first, he thanked me for my goodness towards himself and his subjects, even before I had known them; secondly, that he was well pleased that I had come to the Kingdom and Court, and begged me to remain there permanently; and thirdly, he promised to listen to what I had to say, and if, after mature discussion and examination of what I had to propose he should be convinced of having hitherto lived in error, he, his whole family, his Court, and all his people would become followers of the word of Jesus Christ. Whether he spoke thus from diplomatic politeness or with real sincerity will soon be seen.

CHAPTER XIII

The first Book written by the Author in the Thibettan language is solemnly presented to the King in a public Audience.

(*MS. A, pp.* 80–84; *Fl. MS., f°* 37–40.)

THE King's message rejoiced my heart and was the strongest incentive to do my utmost to avail myself of such good sentiments, inspired by God in His mercy for the success of my Mission. Besides diligently studying the language I began to write a book in Thibettan to explain our Holy Faith and to confute their false religion. The substance of the book was first to show how utterly false was the doctrine among unbelievers that any man could be saved through his religion, and that it was absolutely necessary for them to acknowledge the great important Truth that there is but one Faith leading to Heaven and eternal salvation. Secondly, I demonstrated the virtues to be found in the true Faith, which any man anxious for his own welfare and eternal salvation should zealously try to ascertain. Thirdly, I pointed out and explained the various signs and distinctions by which a man can easily, among the divers and opposite religions there are in the world, distinguish the true from the false. When the King and the Minister heard that I was preparing this work they were impatient for it to be finished. Indeed constantly, until their tragic death, they seemed unable to talk of anything but different points of religion. Moved by Divine Grace, far more powerful than any words of mine, they inquired over and over again whether there was any great difference between our Holy Faith and their Sect or Religion. Partly not to diverge in any way from Truth, and partly not to discourage them, I explained that in every religion there were two principal facts; firstly, principles, maxims, or

dogmas, to be believed, and secondly, precepts, counsels, or instructions as to what to do or not to do. As regards the first our Religion and theirs were absolutely different but in the second the difference was very slight. This explanation consoled and encouraged them greatly, and they showed in many ways that Divine Grace was gradually animating and inciting them.

At the end of December, 1716, having, by the Grace of God, finished my book and had it fairly copied out with a dedication to the King, I sent to ask him when I might present it. He answered he did not wish to receive it privately, but in solemn and public audience, and that I was to fix the day. I chose the Epiphany, and on the sixth of January, 1717, after celebrating Holy Mass and praying to God for the success of my work, I went to the Palace and was received with every sign of joy by the Viceroy, who at once went to tell the King. According to the custom of the country the names of all who desired an audience were taken to the King for his *placet*, and the number of Lamás, Debás [De-pa] or Governors and other personages was great. When the ceremony of offering presents was finished, I produced my book enveloped in white flowered Chinese silk, and wrapped up in a larger piece of similar stuff. The King ordered it to be brought to him, took off the wrapper, undid the buckle, and untied the strings by which every book is fastened in Thibet;[30] then commanding all present to sit down, signed to me to sit opposite the throne. In a clear voice he began to read the laudatory dedication, but paused and modestly declined to accept such praise, at the same time commending me for the progress I had made in their language in so short a time. Then he continued to read, stopping occasionally to make some remark until, tired, he ordered an influential monk to stand near

his throne and continue to read where he had left off. After listening attentively for some time the King took back the book and turning to me said there were various principles set forth in it diametrically opposed to those of their religion, but that he conceived they might be just, sound, and deserving of serious and well-weighed discussion. There were, however, two things which perplexed him greatly; as far as he understood we believed in a supreme Being, single, spiritual, incorporeal, and we absolutely denied metempsychosis, or the transmigration of souls. The King had a quick, ready, and subtle intellect, and propounded various difficulties and objections on those two points, to which I replied and cited our doctrines. The conversation, dealing exclusively with these matters, continued until midday, when the King, well satisfied and pleased, addressed the audience, most graciously bestowing high and unmerited praise on me. Finally, turning to me, he said he was much gratified by the present I had offered that day of the book, which he esteemed and valued, and would finish at his leisure and even read over again. Also he would give it to the highest and most intelligent Lamás to examine and discuss and would let me know the result. After this we were all dismissed.

One day in March I was summoned to the palace and the King said he had read and thought over my book, which had also been read and examined by several Lamás and Doctors. Their opinion was that the maxims and principles contained therein were well set forth and seemed to be well reasoned, but were entirely opposed to their dogmas and opinions. Therefore he considered it would be inopportune to take any decided resolution about such important matters until he had carefully weighed and reflected on both sides of the question. He had consequently arranged that I, on the one side, the

Doctors and Lamás of the universities on the other, should hold a disputation. Aware of the grave importance of such a proceeding he did not wish me to be taken by surprise, not knowing what arms my adversaries might use; and therefore adjourned the debate in order that I might study their religious books, their classical authors, and acquaint my elf with their dialectics. For this reason he desired me to attend some of the frequent debates held in the universities, and gave orders that I should be admitted into any monastery or university I might select, that I was to be given all the books I needed, and that difficult passages should be explained to me by the Doctors and Masters. Finally he begged me to write down all the reasons and arguments I had to oppose to the opinions of their Sect. I lost no time in obeying the King's commands, which so perfectly agreed with my own desires, and chose the monastery of Ramo-cié or the Big Goat (*see Note* 26, *Book II*), near the Palace and my own house, where I at once began to study with all diligence.

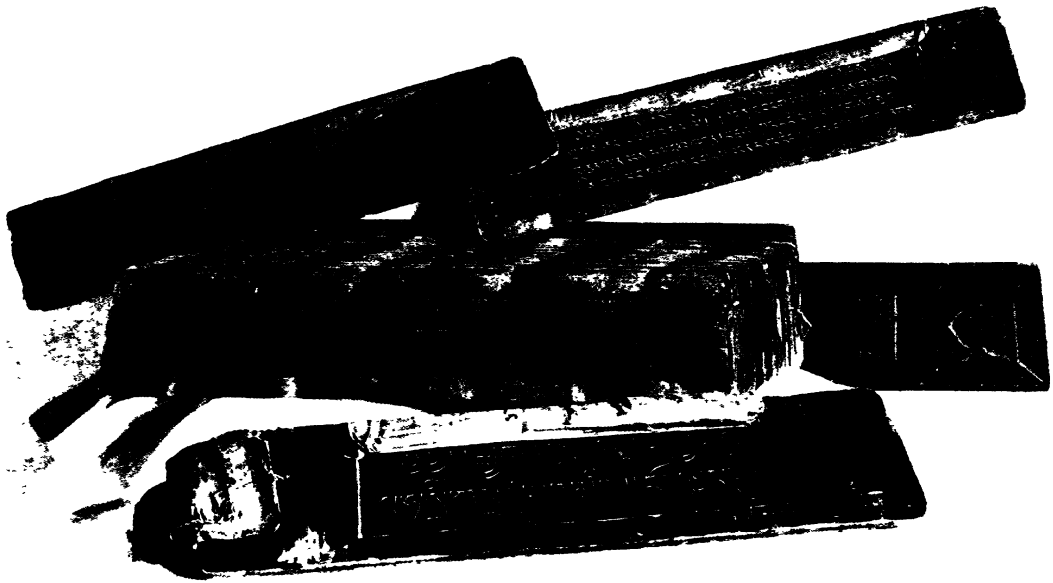
CHAPTER XIV

Describes the Contents of the Thibettan Books and the Errors of the Thibettan People.

(*MS. A, pp.* 85–88; *Fl. MS. f°* 40–42.)

In order that the reader may understand what my work was, I must explain first: that the religion, maxims, and laws of the Thibettans are contained in 115 or more volumes called Kaa-n-ghiur [Kahgyur], meaning the Oracles of their Legislator. These books, regarded as sacred, incense being burnt before them, are by these people held in the same estimation as are the Canonical Books of Holy Writ by us. To deny or even to doubt anything contained

PLATE III



A MS. COPY OF THE GYA-STOMPA OR THE KAHGYUR CONDENSED IN ONE VOLUME
(See Note 31, Book I, p. 382) (*Gabriel Collection at Gubbio, Umbria*)

(*face p.* 102

in these Oracles is regarded as most heinous blasphemy and a deadly sin. In addition to these they have another set of classical books, comprising a similar number of volumes, called Ten-ghiur [Tangyur], which means explanations or description of the above mentioned Oracles. These books are considered by this people to be absolutely authoritative and uncontrovertible. They partly contain commentaries on, and explanations of the books Kaa-n-ghiur, and partly the doubts and controversies that might arise as to these comments, which they consider to have been explained, and so to speak scholastically determined and dogmatically decided by ancient Doctors.[31] It must also be known that the Thibettans have their dialectics, definitions, divisions and arguments, all in the form of simple enthymemes; and a way of starting arguments, of denying and of admitting, of denying the supposition, distorting an argument, and convincing by implication, and so on. They have also a talent for propounding, discussing, and analysing problems in the same manner as we do; their formula being to propose the distinctive trait of the subject, to state the opinion of others, to confute those opinions, to place their own views beyond dispute by demonstrating facts, and finally to reject all objections made by the adversary. Those artifices are found not only in their books, but are in constant use in this Third Thibet, where the practice is taught in several large universities, frequented by such a vast number of students as to be incredible to anyone who has not been among the monks, not only of this Kingdom, but of Second Thibet, or Lhatá-yul, of Independent Tartary or Giongar-yul [Dzungaria], and Lower Tartary or Sopoi-yul [Koko-nor district], and also of China. In these universities, which are all large monasteries, there are several Lamás and many Masters or Doctors. To become a Doctor, a man must not only have

studied in one of these universities for twelve years, but have good testimonials as to his behaviour and his doctrine, and be approved and judged worthy of being promoted to such an honourable position. To enable him to achieve this, besides the almost daily private and public lessons, there are public conferences, where attendance is obligatory, and frequent disputations. Finally, before a Doctor's degree is given, the student must repeatedly debate in public and be pronounced competent by those present.

After this digression I continue my narrative. From the twenty-fifth of March until the end of July I went daily to the monastery of Ramo-cce, which is not a university, and read or rather devoured the more important books of Kaa-n-ghiur, in order to obtain a complete insight into that false religion. I compared one book with another, made notes, and copied everything that might furnish me with weapons to fight the enemy. I also held frequent disputations about these matters, and made a separate dictionary of terms not in ordinary use, but applied almost exclusively to religion and science. In August I went to another monastery and university called Será, which means "Hail" (*see Note* 29, *Book II*), about two miles outside Lhasá, where I was given a good house and had permission to construct a chapel and to celebrate Holy Mass. Here also, I read, made notes, and classified many books of the Ten-ghiur, studied their Dialectics, and frequently debated on religious matters with the monks, especially the teachers and Doctors. Occasionally I attended their public disputations, and above all I applied myself to study and really attempt to understand those most abstruse, subtle and intricate treatises they call Tongba-gni,[32] or Vacuum, which are not to be taken in a material or philosophic, but in a mystical and intellectual sense; their real aim being

to exclude and absolutely deny the existence of any uncreated and independent Being and thus effectually to do away with any conception of God. When I began to study these treatises the Doctor who had been appointed my Master declared that he could not explain them or make me understand them. Thinking this was only a pretext to prevent my gaining any real knowledge of such matters, I repeatedly entreated him to explain what I did not understand without help. Seeing that I was by no means convinced that he was so incapable and that, as he said, only some of the chief and most learned Lamás would be able to instruct me, he offered to bring other Doctors, declaring that he would be well pleased if I found any one who could throw light on these intricate and abstruse questions. In fact we both applied to several of the most esteemed Masters and Doctors and all gave me the same answer. I was, however, determined to try and find out the real meaning contained in these treatises, and seeing that human aid was of no avail, I prayed to God, the Father of Light, for whose glory alone I had undertaken this work, and again applied myself to solitary study. But I could discover nothing. Again I read most attentively, but with the same result. Persuaded, however, that *labor improbus omnia vincit*, with renewed courage I began at the beginning, carefully considering every word, but to no purpose. Briefly I continued my task until the dark clouds were pierced by a faint ray of light. This raised my hope of finally emerging into bright sunshine; I read, re-read and studied until, thanks be to God, I not only understood, but completely mastered (all Glory being to God) all the subtle, sophisticated, and abstruse matter which was so necessary and important for me to know.

CHAPTER XV

Dealing with other Books written by the Author in the Thibettan Language.

(*MS. A, pp.* 88–92 ; *Fl. MS. f°* 42–46.)

HAVING by my aforesaid diligence discovered the site of the enemy's camp, the quality of their arms and their artifices, and provided myself with arms and ammunition, towards the end of November I resolved to challenge them and begin war. In the name and by the aid of God, I commenced to confute the errors of that Sect and to declare the truth of our Holy Faith. But how true is the well-known proverb that " Man proposes, but God disposes ". The terrible events and catastrophes which I shall describe further on, the cruel murder of the King on the thirteenth of December, his family and faithful ministers dispersed, only to be killed later, the kingdom invaded, the throne seized, and the city of Lhasá sacked and made desolate, altered everything. During this terrible time I remained hidden in the Monastery and university of Será. Seeing that all was changed and horror and cruelty reigned, fearing that the friendship shown me by the dead King and by the Viceroy who had just been seized and horribly maltreated might get me into trouble, I determined at the end of December to go to the Province of Takpó-Khier, belonging to this same Thibet, but eight days' journey from Lhasá.[33] There I remained, with the exception of a few months passed later at Lhasá, until April, 1721, all of which I shall describe later.

At Takpó-Khier, I enjoyed perfect quiet and leisure, and occupied myself with studying the books of that religion, and again worked at and nearly finished the above-mentioned exposure of the errors of this people and the description of our Holy Faith.

[Father Desideri proceeds to describe at some length the contents of his three volumes written in Tibetan (*see Bibliography of Desideri*) to confute the errors of the Tibetan religion, especially metempsychosis, and to extol the Christian Faith. He says they excited great interest among the monks and Doctors of various monasteries and universities, who came to his house to study them. In January, 1721, while at Trong-g-neê, in the province of Takpo-Khier, he received orders from Rome to hand over the Mission to the Capuchins and to leave Tibet immediately. Previous letters of the same tenor had evidently never reached him, and the laconic, rather harsh style of this from the General of his Order, written by command of Cardinal Sacripanti, was a severe blow. The intense cold making it impossible for him to travel for some months, the Capuchin Reverend Giuseppe Felice from Morro of Jesi (Morro d'Alba, a hamlet near the town of Jesi, in the district of Ancona) begged him to explain the Tibetan religion and to give him lessons in the language, which he did—trying, as Father Desideri rather ruefully says, to impart in three months what had taken him five years to attain ; but he refused to give him the three volumes mentioned above.

As means towards the instruction of his pupil, Desideri mentions translating with him the Lam-rin-cceà [Lam-rin-chen-ba],[34] a book in which are expounded with admirable method and clarity the dogmas of the Tibetan religion, and the treatises of the Ton-pa-gni, mentioned above (p. 104).

In April Father Giuseppe Felice was ordered to leave Tibet and go to the hospice of Katmandu, in the kingdom of Nepal, and Father Desideri returned to Lhasa. There he found Father Domenico da Fano installed as Prefect of the Capuchin Mission, and was shown the decrees from the Sacred College

of Propaganda Fide substituting the Capuchins as Missionaries to Tibet in lieu of the Jesuits. On the twenty-fifth of April Father Desideri accordingly left Lhasa and arrived at the frontier town of Kuti, or Gne-làm [Nilam dzong] at the end of May. Here he remained until December to avoid the great heat of Nepal after his five years in the cold climate of Tibet. These months he devoted to finishing his controversial books on the Tibetan religion.]

CHAPTER XVI

An Account of the Mission founded in Thibet by the Society of Jesus, from the Beginning until the Author left Thibet.

(*MS. A, pp.* 93–101; *Fl. MS. f°* 47–58.)

Father Desideri's account of the Mission in Tibet and of the Jesuit Fathers who devoted their lives to the work is here summarized.[35]

FATHER ANTONIO DE ANDRADE, a Portuguese, founded a mission at Agra, then the capital of Mogol. There he heard that a religion, similar to Christianity, was practised in Thibet and determined to found a mission there. With Brother Manuel Marques he went by Sirinagar [Srinagar in Garhwal] to Coghé [Guge] and in March, 1624, arrived at the city of Caparàng [Tsaparang, or Chaprang, on the upper Sutlej] in Thibet. They found that the report was a myth, but the King, Queen and Princes received them most kindly, and even gave them permission to preach, to build churches, etc. Promising to return as soon as they had obtained permission from the superiors, they returned to Agra, and left again on the seventeenth of June, 1625, with Father Gonzales de Sousa, Brother Manuel Marques, and two young Thibettans they had brought to Mogol.

They arrived at Caparàng on the twenty-eighth of August, and on Easter Sunday, 1626, laid the first stone of a church in the presence of the King. The Fathers had meanwhile begun to teach the

Christian religion to the royal family and many others.

On the thirtieth of April, 1626, Father Estevão Cacella, Father João Cabral and Brother Bartolomeo Fontebuona (Fonteboa) were sent as Missionaries from Coccìn [Cochin], capital of the province of Malabar, to Third Thibet or Uu-zzang [Utsang] of which Lhasà is the capital. They stopped in the province of Mon (North-West Bhutan) and near the city of Chian-zé (Gyantse) and with the permission of the King and the Governor they built a church (in 1627) and made several converts. The Uu-zzang Mission was further helped by the arrival of another Father from Caparàng to Giegazzé, at the request and at the expense of the King of Zzang [Tsang]. In the same year the Fathers João de Oliveira, Alano de Angelis (dos Anjos) and Antonio Pereira joined Father Antonio de Andrade at Coghé. They baptized twelve people, and many others wanted to be received to baptism. The Queen and her niece, daughter of the King of Lhasá, were baptized, whereupon the King gave a large sum to found the Mission, built a church and houses for the Fathers and granted a yearly income to the missionaries.

On the twentieth of January, 1628, Father João Cabral arrived at Giegazzé, the King having summoned him from the province of Mon, and together with the Lamá gave him permission to preach. When he left, the King gave him letters for the King of Nepal in Kattmandú, who also gave him introductions for the journey to the city of Pattná in Mogol.

The years 1629 and 1630 were disastrous for the Mission. To begin with Father Manuel Diaz died in Morong [or Murung, the Terai region at the foot of the Nepal and Sikkim mountains]. Then the King of Coghé and his family were made prisoners and so could no longer protect the Fathers. In the same year two Fathers in Uu-zzang, who were in

high favour with the King, died, and one great pillar of the Mission, Father Estevão Cacella, died in Giegazzé. The King then asked Father João Cabral to return there, and some Fathers were also sent from Bengalà because in Caparàng and other places in Redók and Coghé the number of Christians had risen to four hundred. But the King of Lhatá attacked and took the above mentioned places, made slaves of several Christians and sent them to Lhe, or Lhatá, capital of the Kingdom of Second or Great Thibet. Two Fathers were made prisoners at Redóc and also sent to Lhatá, where the King set them at liberty.

Fortunately, a supply of new missionaries came to the rescue in the same year, 1631. On the fourteenth of February of this year, the Fathers Antonio Pereira, Superior, Francisco de Azevedo, Domenico Capece and Francesco Morando left Goa, where Father Antonio de Andrade was Provincial, for Caparang. On the fourth of the following October, Fathers Francisco de Azevedo and João de Oliveira left Caparàng and in twenty days reached Lhatá, or Lhe, where they obtained permission to build churches and make converts in Coghé, Redók, Lhatá and other places in the same kingdoms. But the conditions following upon the past revolutions were still prevailing, and in 1632, five Fathers were still imprisoned in the Governor's House at Coghé; nothing belonging to them was allowed to go out or to come in without first being examined.

In 1635 Father Nuño Coresma was sent from Goa with six companions, among them being Father Caldeira, Pedro de Freytas, and Brother Faustino Barreiros, to try and start the Mission afresh. But owing to the great famine in Mogol, Thibet and Sirinagar, followed by influenza, five of the Fathers died ere they reached Thibet. The journey from Surat to Thibet cost 3,000 Rupees or 1,500 "*pezzi*

di Spagna". Notwithstanding all these disasters, the number of Christians had greatly augmented. Only the death of Father Alano de Angelis [dos Anjos] in Sirinagar [Garhwal] is recorded in 1636, and a letter from the Governor of Caparàng to the King of Sirinagar complaining that the Fathers he had told to come to Caparàng were detained in Sirinagar.

Four years later, in 1640, Father Thomà de Barros, Visitor of the Mogol Mission and Superior of the Missions at Sirinagar and Thibet, was sent to Agra, whence he proceeded with three companions to Thibet, but the result of his journey is unknown. The only reports of 1641 and 1642 and the following years are that Brother Manuel Marques was in Caparàng and was joined by Father Stanislao Malpichi. On the first of September, 1650, Father Antonio Cesques wrote to Father Giovanni Maracci from Agra to say that Fathers were needed in the Thibet Mission. Another letter of the same year from Father Antonio Mendez informed the Father General in Rome that Father Antonio de Andrade, who had finished his Provincialate and was Rector of the College of St. Paul at Goa, had died just as he was returning to Thibet with six companions. In the same letter are mentioned the names of Father Ambrosio Correa, Bonate, Godinho and many others as having worked in the Mission of Thibet, where there were Christians, and hopes of increasing their number.

[The records of the Mission were interrupted for some time after this date. The above were collected by Father Desideri from annual letters and other documents in the general archives of the Society of Jesus. He states that he has by him in the house of the Order in Rome a declaration of the authenticity of these extracts granted by Father Antonio Milesio, Secretary General of the Society of Jesus.

The interruption of the Mission, however, must not be interpreted as an abandonment of those people

to their fate. The Society had to yield to circumstances, prudently waiting for better times. This is proved by the zeal shown from the beginning in undertaking a mission in so distant a country and at such heavy cost. The names of more than thirty Fathers and Brothers employed in the work have been preserved, and there were many others.

Nevertheless, Father Desideri laments the small results achieved by the Mission, when compared with the sacrifices made, and adds : " But even if the Society in the future should make no further progress it will always have the merit of opening the way for the Gospel and for others to follow in its footsteps in those unknown and vast countries ".

Father Desideri then turns to the Capuchins. Several friars were sent from Rome in 1704, as missionaries to Tibet who went " an immense journey through Turkey, Babylonia, Arabia and other countries, and only arrived in Bengalà in 1708 ". Two of them, the Reverend Fathers Giuseppe d'Ascoli and François of Tours, finally reached Lhasa, but Father François soon left, and died at Patna. Giuseppe d'Ascoli remained alone until 1710, when the Reverend Domenico da Fano arrived at Lhasa, and Father Giuseppe left and died on reaching Patna. In 1711 the Reverend Giovanni da Fano joined Father Domenico and they both decided to abandon the Mission and went to Bengal; " thus," says Father Desideri, " there remained no Capuchin in all Thibet, and none other entered Thibet before my arrival in 1715, with Father Emanuel Freyre, who had been appointed to accompany me from Delly, and who abandoned me as soon as he arrived " (in Lhasa).

Father Domenico da Fano from Bengal went to Rome and was sent back to Tibet by the Sacred College De Propaganda Fide with other Capuchins. They reached Bengal in August, 1715, and on

the first of October, 1716, Father Domenico da Fano arrived at Lhasa with Father Orazio della Penna and Francesco Fossombrone and went to Father Desideri's house. They told him they had written to Rome that the Mission belonged to the Capuchins and that no other Order would be tolerated in Tibet. "I replied that they had done well to write to Rome and ask for orders from the College De Propaganda Fide and His Holiness the Pope and that as soon as these came I was ready humbly to obey." In the meantime they lived amicably together until Father Desideri left Tibet in 1721. From Kuti Father Desideri wrote a very long appeal (*f°* 48 *to* 58 *of Fl. MS.*) to Pope Innocent XIII, citing many extracts from Diplomas, Decrees, Canons, Bulls, Constitutions, and Rules of the various Popes from 1624 to 1721; stating three reasons for thus importuning His Holiness. First, that his Superiors had ordered him to undertake this Mission; secondly, that he had been named by his Superiors Rector of the College at Agra, which had been founded many years ago with the express condition that the Society of Jesus was to send Missionaries into the Kingdom of Tibet; thirdly, that as it was known in Europe that he had been sent to Tibet, grave suspicion would arise that he had committed some grievous sin which merited dismissal. He complains bitterly that the Reverend Father Domenico da Fano protested loudly and repeatedly by letter from Bengal, and later, when in Rome, that he could not tolerate the presence of any Jesuits in this Mission, as discussions and quarrels would infallibly arise. This Father Desideri denies and challenges the Capuchin friar to prove. He ends by imploring the Pope to have mercy on "all these innumerable poor souls who are in such a miserable condition and to give orders that the Society of Jesus should return to instruct and save them".[36]]

BOOK THE SECOND

Containing an Account of the Country, Customs and Civil Government of Thibet.

CHAPTER I

The Boundaries and Site of Great Thibet.

(*MS. A, Book II, pp.* 1–5; *Fl. MS. f°* 59, *and* 80–81.)

THIBET consists of three distinct Kingdoms. The first is Lesser Thibet, or Baltistan, bordering to the South on Cascimir and on the East [North] with the Kingdom of Kaskar [Kashghar]; it was once ruled by several Kinglets, or rather Barons, and now forms part of the Mogol Empire.

Second or Great Thibet, also called Lhatá-yul, takes two months to traverse from West to East. On the Western Frontier [North-North Western] lies Lesser Thibet, on the Eastern the Great Desert of Ngnari-Giongar [Hundes, or Ngari Khorsum] (*see Note* 20, *Book I*), which I have already described. This Second Thibet is ruled by an independent King, under whom is a Kinglet.

Third Thibet is called simply Thibet by Europeans and by Persians, but Hindustan-Mongolians call it Butant, which means "the Country of Idols". Geographers have given it various names on their maps, such as Kingdom of the Grand Lamá, or of Lhasá, Usang and Barantola. But the people of the country call it Po, pronounced like the French word "Peu", or Uu-zzang, thus calling the whole by the name of two provinces.[1] The vast extent of this Third Thibet will be understood when I tell you that it takes more than six months of incessant travelling to go from the Western to the Eastern frontier, that is from Cartóa to near Sciling [Sining], the Western extremity of the Great Wall of China. From the North to the South the distances are very unequal. Between Cartóa and the province of Gang-tó [Tsang-to] (a journey of two and a half

months) this part of the Kingdom extends far to the North and but little to the South. It borders on the precipitous mountains of Yarkand and the quite impracticable mountains [Kuen Lun] which form the boundary of the Kingdom of Upper Independent Tartary, or Country of the Giongars [Dzungaria]; while to the South it marches with the Kingdom of Collaòr [Kulu] and with other countries situated due North of Sirinagar [Garhwal]; which are all beyond the confines of the Mogol Empire; that is to say that the southern boundaries of such countries only extend, at the utmost, to 38 degrees latitude. Between the province of Gang-tó and Lhasá, capital of Thibet (a journey of a month and several days), one descends southwards past the provinces of Chiee-rong [Kirong] to the State ruled by the Kinglet of Patan, the second petty King in Nepal, and then to Nesti [Listi] belonging to the Kinglet of Kattmandù, chief of the petty kings of Nepal [2]; here you reach the 28th degree latitude. The city of Lhasá lies on the 29th degree and 6 minutes latitude. Here, and in the surrounding districts, the Kingdom of Thibet does not extend far to the North; but towards the South, traversing the provinces of Mon, Pari [Phari] and Brêe-mê-jong [Sikkim] it borders on the states of Altibari, and Porania [Haldibari and the district of Purnea], subject to the Emperor of China,[3] and lying beyond the Ganges; that is to say one descends quite to 26 degrees latitude. From Lhasá to Sciling, which is in China, and to Lower Tartary, a journey of three months, Thibet stretches again far to the North, the border of Sciling is situated on 36 degrees and 20 minutes latitude; while to the South the provinces of Lhoro, Çeri, Cong-tò, and Cong-mé [Lhari, Tsari, Kong-to and Kongme; districts to the South-East of Lhasa] march with the people called Lhobà [Bhutanese], that is to say People

of the South, when the Kingdom of Thibet descends to 26 and even to 25 degrees latitude.[4]

In several of the Thibetan books, devoutly believed in by the people, is a most curious tale about their origin, and how this Third and Principal Thibet, or Butant, came to be inhabited. It is written that to the South, where Hindustan borders on the Thibettan province of Mon, a woman lost her way in the mountains, and after bitter weeping in despair and many cries of Ahi ! Ahi ! [woe ! woe !] was rescued by a big monkey of the species called Monos by the Portuguese. With great demonstrations of joy he brought her wild fruits, and in time they became so friendly that she bore him several sons. Then it is said that while wandering about in the mountains she came to a rocky hill, afterwards called Potalà, close to where the city of Lhasá was founded in later times. On the hill she met a certain Cen-ree-zij [Chen-re-zi ; Avalokiteśvara] who told her he was the guardian of that district. He gave her some seeds of wheat, rice, barley, and different kinds of vegetables, commanding her, and her sons after her, to sow them, as part would serve as food and the remainder for future crops. After many, many years Thibet was peopled by the descendants of these sons ; but they were rough and unlettered, without culture or Religion, and remained so until the advent of a certain King Sri-Kiong-teüzen,[5] of whom I shall speak later. These tales are believed because in so many of these books the Thibettans are termed grandsons and descendants of the monkey.[6] Not less singular, although it seems to me easier to believe, is what I found in other books highly valued by this people as to the configuration of the Kingdom. It is said to resemble the figure of a man lying chained, as our ancient poets describe the fabled Prometheus, on the rugged peaks of the mountains of the Caucasus, which are precisely

the long stretch of the great mountains of Thibet. When the poets speak of unfortunate Prometheus, condemned to have his breast and belly lacerated by the insatiable bird, he is always represented as lying chained and helpless on his back. Such is the image that must occur to all who read Martial's famous epigram: "*Qualis Caucasica religatus rupe Prometheus assiduam nimio pectore pascit avem*," and such an image is described in these Thibettan books by pointing out that such a place is the head, such another the shoulders, such and such provinces the hands, and so on.[7] These and similar things have I found in these books which I think are worth recording.

CHAPTER II

Climate and Fertility of Thibet.

(*MS. A, pp.* 6–11; *Fl. MS., f°* 59–61 *and* 81.)

I HAVE already mentioned the great cold in the other two Thibets; it is the same in this Third Thibet, with heavy snowfalls and severe frosts. This is not caused by the high latitude, but partly by the rarefaction of the air, Thibet being surrounded by exceeding high mountains, and partly by the prevailing violent winds, which, passing over them, are charged with bitter cold. The coldest season is from the middle of October to the middle of April, when snow lies deep on the mountains and is slow to melt. In inhabited districts the snowfall is less and it melts sooner. In May the weather is warmer, while in June, July and August, the heat, caused by the refraction of the sun's rays from the bare rocky mountains would be unbearable but for the rains which refresh the inhabitants and allow the crops to sprout and mature. In September the rains generally cease and the climate is temperate

until the middle of October. This does not apply to the higher mountains, which are nearly always covered with snow and swept by violent winds. Although the cold is so intense, Thibet is very healthy, and being so dry travellers can pass the night with the sky as their only roof as generally happened to me in my long journeys.[8]

Thibet is very mountainous. The climate is extremely cold and rigid, but the air is pure and very healthy. Because of the scarcity of water it is very barren, and being so barren there are no big towns, only villages here and there on the lower slopes of the mountains where there are springs. The mountains, with few exceptions, are so bare and stony that no trees or shrubs can grow. Only where there is a little cultivated land are there trees. The crops are barley and a little wheat, save in one more southerly province, where rice is grown. Fruit is scarce; only walnuts and peach-trees (*apricot*) are to be seen, and in the provinces of Takpó-Khier and Kham grapes enough to furnish wine for the Mass. Apples also grow in some districts, but the quality is poor. Experience shows that various vegetables would grow, if sown, but the people only cultivate turnips, radishes, garlic and onions.[9]

Gold and silver of good quality exist in the province of Kham, indeed gold is to be found everywhere in Thibet, but there are no mines as in other countries, the people simply separate it from the earth and sand in the following manner. Near the rivers, with great labour, the Thibettans move large blocks of stone and dig out the earth and sand underneath, which they throw into a trough. Into this, after placing therein large square sods, they pour much water, which running down carries off the earth, the coarser sand and the small stones. The gold and fine sand is caught in the rough grass of the

sods, which are washed over and over again until none remains. The gold is generally like sand and not in nuggets. It is usually found in flat land at the foot of mountains or by the side of rivers flowing between mountains, because the rain washes down the earth and with it the gold. It is therefore manifest that if the Thibettans knew how to tunnel mines in these sterile, bare mountains they would find much gold. Anyone can dig for gold after obtaining permission from the Governor of the district to whom a small quantity of the gold found is due.[10]

Besides gold and silver certain square stones are found which are at first enchased in the rock, from which they fall when mature and perfect. They are of the colour of iron, and some are veined with silver or gold. They are said to have medical properties in facilitating child-birth; and when ground to powder to be an excellent remedy against the retention of urine. But these and other virtues I leave to be decided by experts.[11]

Salt also exists in such large quantities in Thibet that not only is the Kingdom well provided, but also Nepal and the countries of Lhobà which I mentioned above. Together with the salt is found a very fine white powder called *putoâ* in the language of the country; which the people put into their *cià*, as it brings out the colour and makes it red like red wine. This colour in *cià* is much appreciated by the Thibettans. The powder is also used to take out grease spots and to remove dirt from cloth.[12]

Sulphur is found in some parts of Thibet and sulphur springs are frequent. These are much sought by people who suffer from rheumatism, who for some days remain several hours in the water and derive great benefit. Besides sulphur there are other mineral springs, so sparkling and of so marvellous a quality, that I disbelieved in them until

I tried them myself. These springs only flow at certain seasons of the year; if perchance they flow at other times, the water has no medicinal quality. They are only efficacious at the beginning of spring, towards the end of March, when the peach-trees (*apricot*) begin to flower. Then these springs flow abundantly, and the water tastes like the flower of the peach-tree. As long as the trees are in bloom the waters have a wonderful purgative and vomitive effect, so the Thibettans go in numbers to the springs and drink until they are sufficiently purged. At the end of April the peach-trees lose their flowers and the said water ceases to flow; or, if it does, it is no longer purgative, and the springs are no longer frequented.

Two most useful herbs grow in Thibet, the *reopontico* (*rheum*) and the zodoaria. The first is found on some of the mountains in the province of Takpó and has almost the same property as rhubarb. Zodoaria grows in the province of Kieê-rong, on the border of the Kingdom of Nepal, together with napellus (*aconite*), which is poisonous, so care must be taken in gathering it. Zodoaria is a rare herb, very expensive and of great efficacy; it is recognized by the lilac colour inside the stem.[13] Serapion states that zodoaria resembles ginger in colour and in taste, which is not true; Mattiolo is also wrong in saying that the root of the zodoaria is round, whereas it is elongated like that of aconite. Avicenna seems to have been better acquainted with the plant when he says that it grows near aconite, to which it is the antidote.[14] Therefore the Thibettans give it to their horses when they have eaten hemlock, or other poisonous herbs, which are plentiful in that country.

CHAPTER III

Of the Musk-deer and other Animals in Thibet.
(*MS. A, pp.* 11–17; *Fl. MS. f°* 60–61.)

After quoting at length a description of the musk-deer, the musk and the manner of collecting it, by Mattiolo, which he declares to be erroneous, Father Desideri goes on to describe the animal.

It is as large as a roe-deer or a lamb, and has the same coat and the same colour as the former. It has no horns, but pricked ears, and two teeth show a little on either side of its mouth. The musk-deer have a pocket below the navel with an orifice in the middle, from whence exude humours which would injure the musk. Into this pocket is secreted a substance rather like blood, and this is gradually condensed into small balls or pellets of different size. The quality of the musk differs according to the province and the pasture. The animal has the shape of a hare, but is bigger and with longer legs; its fur is the same colour, but harsh, not soft as is that of the hare. The flesh is very good to eat. When cured the skins are made into boots and other things. The Thibettans shoot these animals and then take the pocket containing the musk.[15]

There are many horses in Thibet of good quality and medium size; being very strong they are used on long journeys, especially over mountains and in snow without suffering. They cost 25 scudi (*about* £5 18*s.*). There are also many mules, rather large and very strong, able to carry heavy loads during journeys lasting for months and with scant food. Their price is about the same as that of good horses. The donkeys are also strong and can go long journeys with heavy loads.

Martens are numerous in Thibet; their fur is used by the people as trimming for caps, or lining

for coats. There is also another, partly aquatic, partly terrestrial animal, about four spans long, with short but very lustrous and delicate fur of a light grey colour. This the Thibettans use as a border for sleeves, or round dresses. Some employ the fur of foxes to adorn their caps, making no difficulty about killing them, on account of the harm they do to other animals, and therefore to man. I never heard of any other noxious animals in Thibet, except foxes, a kind of wild dog called *pparà*, some very rare beasts said to be like cats, and a few serpents.

As to birds in Thibet there are many large eagles and quantities of ravens in the high mountains, and beautiful parrots in some of the southern provinces, especially in Takpo and Kong-bò. Certain rare black birds, larger than hens, are said to be excellent to eat; the people not only pluck out their feathers, but skin them. Small birds are innumerable but none seem to be of any rare kinds. There are divers species of aquatic birds, among them a curious duck of a golden velvety colour, said to be good to eat, but the Thibettans never kill them, indeed have rather a reverence for them, because they believe their Legislator always wore that colour. Coveys of partridges and wild fowl are found on the mountains but are not shot by the Thibettans, nor are pigeon and domestic fowls killed, because of the belief in the transmigration of souls. In some districts are large herds of deer which are hunted and killed for their skins.

Cows and oxen are kept by the people; the latter are generally only used for ploughing, not as beasts of burden, although they are powerful animals. Goats and sheep are numerous, the latter are of great size; their wool is excellent and their flesh delicious. They are used to carry loads of salt, rice and such things, and go long journeys.

Many of the Thibettan dogs are uncommon and extraordinary. They are black with rather long glossy hair, very big and sturdily built, and their bark is most alarming. One or two are always chained at the entrance of every house, and a stranger would run great risks if no servant came to his help. Merchants who are travelling with many laden animals find two of these dogs sufficient to guard their whole party. These beasts are always well fed, especially with meat to make them strong, and much milk to increase the hoarseness of their bark. They wear large collars ornamented with stiff red fur, so they seem to have a flame round their necks, which added to their natural ferocity increases the fear they inspire.

The Thibettans also use the mountain oxen (*yak*) as beasts of burden. They are of great size and their hair grows so long that they must be clipped, or they would suffer greatly from heat with such very dense and long hair ; this is made into ropes, sacks, and cloth for the tents of the shepherds. The thick long-haired tails are made into brooms in Thibet, while in Mogol (if white) they are much prized and used for fly-whisks called Ciaorì [Chaori] by noblemen and even by the King. The mountain cows are of the same size, and their milk produces quantities of butter of such excellence that I do not think the like can be anywhere excelled. These mountain oxen and cows are valuable, and a man who possesses a large herd is considered rich in Thibet. Their meat is good, fresh or dried, and of their skins shoes, boots and other things are made, especially boats for crossing rivers.[16]

CHAPTER IV

Of the Rivers in Thibet and of the Boats and Bridges.
(*MS. A, pp.* 17–20; *Fl. MS. f°* 61–62.)

You must know that as the Kingdom of Thibet is very mountainous, the water draining off the mountains forms rivers; especially there is one which flowing from West to East traverses the centre of Third Thibet and the province of Kong-to, which lies more to the East, and then turning to the South-East enters the country of Lhobà [Bhutan], whence it descends to Rongmati [Rangamati], a province of Mogol beyond the Ganges into which this principal river of Thibet at last flows.[17] Although the Thibettans have a few large wooden boats, they generally use those made of skins. These are not long and pointed, but round and flat-bottomed without any keel, so they are easily upset. They are usually made of three or four ox skins sewn together and stretched over a wooden frame. In these boats men and goods are ferried across the rivers, but donkeys are unloaded, their legs tied together, and they are thrown into the bottom of the boat like dead animals. Horses, mules, and mountain oxen cannot cross in these boats but must either go where there are wooden boats, or swim. One has to pay something to the boatmen. The King's, Lamá's and Governor's messengers pay no fee. As many persons cannot pay and the boats are sometimes unable to cross or are not ready, iron bridges have been built for the convenience of foot-passengers. These consist of two thick, low turrets or two strong stone walls. To these are attached two large iron chains about four feet apart, from which hang thinner chains, fastened on either side to the principal ones about every two feet, and forming loops on which are placed planks about eight inches, or a little more, wide.

On these one walks grasping the principal chain on each side. Three are the precautions to be taken in crossing these bridges: first to walk very slowly, or the swaying of the bridge may precipitate you into the river below; secondly that only a few people should cross at the same time for the same reason; and thirdly not to look down at the water, which might make you giddy and cause you to slip. These bridges are generally at a considerable height above the river, and cross it in one stretch, without being supported by any central pier, even where the river is of considerable width. Only to the East of the city of Ce-thang, or, as some call it, Ze-thang [Tse-tang], the river being exceedingly broad, the iron bridge is divided into three spans, supported by two great piers. I do not remember whether they are built of masonry or whether they are natural rocks in the river. It is a fact that the Thibettans believe some of these bridges were erected by a miracle of their Lamas, and not by the hand of man.[18] The first of these bridges which I had to cross, as there were no boats (it was in Second Thibet), was like what I have just described, only instead of iron chains there were ropes made of twisted willow branches, and on the thinner ropes there were no planks, so I had to put my foot into each loop, about a foot apart (*see p.* 76). I was also forced by dire necessity to cross one of the iron bridges between Third Thibet and the Kingdom of Nepal. Others I have always been able to avoid.

CHAPTER V

Of the Western part of Thibet and some of its Provinces and Cities.
(*MS. A, pp.* 21–26; *Fl. MS. f°* 82–84.)

As Thibet consists of so many provinces, it would be too tedious a task to describe them all; I shall

therefore only mention a few salient facts about some of them. To begin with, although I have already written enough about the Great Western Desert, which extends from Cartoa up to Ngnari-Giongar and from thence descends to Toscioá and Retoa, and from Retoa to the province of Zzang-to (*Book I, Chapter X*), yet I must point out that although this large tract of country has no stable inhabitants, there are a great number of nomad shepherds who roam all over the desert seeking pasture for the vast numbers of horses and mules, and the immense herds of mountain oxen and cows I have described above. These animals belong to the Grand Lamá and to the King. Although it is a vast desert yet a considerable income is derived from the enormous quantity of butter sent to Lhasá, from whence it is distributed to a great part of Thibet. The use of butter is universal in Thibet, as will be seen below. Also, as I have already mentioned (*p.* 85), there is a great lake in this desert which yields much gold. After crossing the Desert one reaches the province of Zzang-to and the city of Serchia lying in the shape of a crescent on the slope of a high hill and leading up to a large monastery with many monks, above is a fine fortress. In the plain below is a river with a handsome and well-built bridge, not of iron chains, but built of stone and timber, many houses and some villages. The Governor of the province, with many officials, lives in the town. The other two provinces of this Thibet are Chiee-rong and Kutti, parts of which march with the Kingdom of Nepal.

Zodoaria (*see Note* 13) is found in the province of Chiee-rong, which marches with the country belonging to the Kinglet of Patan [in Nepal]; this is exported to Nepal and Hindustan, and sold for very high prices.

Taking the road of Chiee-rong, horses can be

used as far as Nepal, and from there to Mogol, but this is not possible by the Kutti road. The province of Kutti, whose capital is called Kutti or Gnee-lam [Nilam], is not large. It begins at Kciusciàm and Nesti on the Nepal frontier, and ends at a huge mountain called La-n-gùr [Thung Pass], which will be mentioned elsewhere. Not long ago the fortress and the province of Kutti were subject to the Rajah of Kattmandù ; now they are subject to the Kingdom of Lhasà. There is usually only one Governor in the principal cities of Thibet, but in Kutti there are three, who, however, form but one body and one tribunal. The reason for this is partly political as so many foreigners pass through Kutti, and the King thinks in this way to guard against any corruption, for the revenue accruing to the State from the import of goods is very considerable. Firstly all the iron used in Thibet comes from this district ; and secondly the road across the above-mentioned desert is so impracticable that the caravans of merchandise from Cascimir, Hindustan, Armenia, and Nepal come through Kutti. The goods arrive well and safely packed, weighing about two *mans* [19] of Pattná. These bales, called *bakkù* in Hindustani and *tobò* in Thibettan, are not opened for examination, but pay by weight. For every two *mans* of Pattnà, several *tang* are charged ; and one *tang* is worth three and a half rupees of Hindustan, thirteen and a half Roman Paoli. This tax is, however, not levied equally on everybody, because long ago a Grand Lamá of Thibet who was born in Nepal reduced the duty for all Nepalese merchants. If the packages are small they are charged according to their contents. People entering Thibet from Kutti pay nothing, but those who leave the Kingdom are charged two *mandermali*, about one rupee of Hindustan. All goods that leave Thibet to go to Nepal must be carried on men's backs ; the porters are very well

paid ; while the bales destined for Thibet are a great source of income to the Kutti merchants, native and Nepalese, who keep many horses and mules, which they hire out to traders and travellers. I must not omit to mention the excellent Thibettan custom that he who has paid duty in Kutti can go all over Thibet without paying anything more in any place or being in any way molested.[20]

Between the above-mentioned desert and Lhasá, and between Kutti and Lhasá are several inhabited places, but only three large towns.[21] The first is the city of Quiang-zé [Gyantse], capital of a province, wherein resides a Great Governor, and where is a large monastery whose monks are much respected in Thibet. The woollen cloth made there is in great request all over the Kingdom. The second place is Secchia [Sakya], capital of another province, or rather Principality, whose inhabitants, although under the supreme dominion of the King of Thibet, pay him no taxes nor do they owe him any service, save on extraordinary occasions, but are ruled by a Lamá, who is their Prince. He receives investiture from the King of Lhasá. This said Lamá, who is a powerful Prince, is not vowed to perpetual celibacy, but is obliged to marry in order to raise up a successor to his throne. As soon as the succession is assured he must separate from his wife ; and when he dies, his son becomes Lamá and Prince. His magnificent palace is in the centre of the large monastery, and there is also a very considerable nunnery. Besides the temples of idols annexed to these monasteries there is another, not far from Secchia, of great size and splendour, where services in their superstitious manner are sometimes held by the monks and also by the nuns, and on special occasions by the Lamá himself. The city of Secchia lies at the foot of a mountain, up which it extends somewhat like a staircase in the shape of a crescent moon, so that it is fair to behold.

It is surrounded by walls, and near by is a large plain with many cottages and fine houses.

The third place on the road to Lhasá coming from the West is the city of Jegaçé [Shigatse], capital of the ancient Kingdom and now the capital of the province of Gang [Tsang]. In old times a King lived here who was the powerful and absolute ruler of the provinces forming Gang-to and Gang-mê; which were conquered by the King of Lhasá. After Lhasá Jegaçé is the most considerable city in Thibet. A powerful and very rich Lamá (*the Tashi Lama*) lives there, who takes rank immediately after the Grand Lamá, and when the Grand Lamá of Thibet happens to be a young boy, the Lamá of Jegaçé is his master and tutor. When I was in Thibet the Lamá of Jegaçé was highly esteemed and venerated not only by the people of Thibet but also by the late Emperor of China, who frequently sent ambassadors to his relation King Cinghes-Khang [Chingiz Khan] and at the same time to this Lamá. The Lamá of Jegaçé has many subjects and several towns belong to him; his riches are great and he lives in a magnificent way like a renowned and powerful Prince. His palace is a fine building, very splendidly furnished, while his temple of idols contains vast treasures in large golden statues and precious gems. Adjoining his palace is a great monastery to which many monks of diverse nationalities resort for study, it being one of the principal universities of Thibet. There is also a nunnery, whose inmates are under the immediate jurisdiction of the Lamá. It was to this convent that the Tartar Princess went, who, as I have said, was so helpful to me during my journey across the Desert. The City of Jegaçé lies in a large plain, and being inhabited by many Thibettans who are rich merchants, and also by Tartars and merchants from Cascimir, Hindustan and Nepal, is a place of much commerce and a daily fair is held there.

PLATE IV

THE GATE OF LHASA AND THE POTALA

(Photograph by J. C. White; by permission of Messrs. Johnston & Hoffman, Calcutta)

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In the city lives one of the chief Governors of Thibet with many officials and ministers of the King. On a hill is a strong and large fortress, with a Castellan and other officials. As the town of Jegaçé has been much damaged by the Giongars during the siege, it has been rebuilt in 1719, enlarged and improved. Near by is a considerable river [Tsangpo] with a strong and well-built bridge, the best that exists in all Thibet. Small villages and hamlets are scattered about the plain in which Jegaçé lies.[22]

CHAPTER VI

Of the City of Lhasá, Capital of Thibet, and of its Surroundings.
(MS. A, pp. 26–32; Fl. MS. f° 84–88.)

I NOW come to the city of Lhasá, in the province of Uù, capital of the Kingdom and residence of the Grand Lamá and of the King of Thibet. Lhasá is densely populated, not only by natives, but by a large numbers of foreigners of divers nations, such as Tartars, Chinese, Muscovites, Armenians, people from Cascimir, Hindustan and Nepal, all established there as merchants, and who have made large fortunes. The houses are generally large and spacious, built of stone and three storeys high. Many families inhabit the ground and first floors, while the owner lives in the upper part. The rooms are well planned, many are large and there are spacious halls with balconies. In most of these houses the floors of the principal rooms are very fine, made of tiny stones of various colours, well arranged and cemented with resin of pine-trees and other ingredients; these are beaten for many days until the floor becomes one homogeneous mass like porphyry, quite smooth and shining, so that when washed it is like a looking-glass. There is usually a chapel in every house, called Cioŏ-Khang [Chŏ-khang], with carved and

gilt cupboards in which are kept statuettes of their idols and some religious books. In front of these cupboards are shelves on which burn small lamps, and brass vases stand containing offerings of water, barley, flour, fruits, and such like things. Incense is also burnt.[23] Thibettan houses are the same all over the Kingdom, only some are built of earth. It is true the earth is very adhesive and is mixed with small pebbles. It is kneaded in moulds or boxes into a solid mass and then pressed until quite hard. Of these bricks (so to speak) the houses are built and they are so solid that I have seen repeated blows given by a pickaxe before they could be demolished.[24]

In the centre of the City is a large square where from early morning until sundown a fair is held ; indeed from three o'clock after midday until evening one can find everything, and the crowd is so great that it is difficult to get across the square. On the Northern side is a splendid palace called Trussi-Khang [Tashi-khang], the King's residence. It was built at great cost by the late Grand Lamá. He built it in order to go there from time to time and amuse himself by seeing the ladies of Lhasá dance : hence its name of Trussi-Khang, which means the House of Dancing. The architecture of the King's palace is fine, strong and with symmetrically distributed windows and balconies. There are three floors surmounted by handsome cornices which resemble those on our houses or by a terrace. It is built of brick ; in the centre the surface is not smooth, but spotted and granulated in grotesque style, and red in colour. Inside are two large and very long courtyards ornamented with a series of porticos. The palace is wide, long, and very big. In length it is nearly half the size of the great square; that is to say about the length of the palace of St. Mark in Rome, but the height is less.

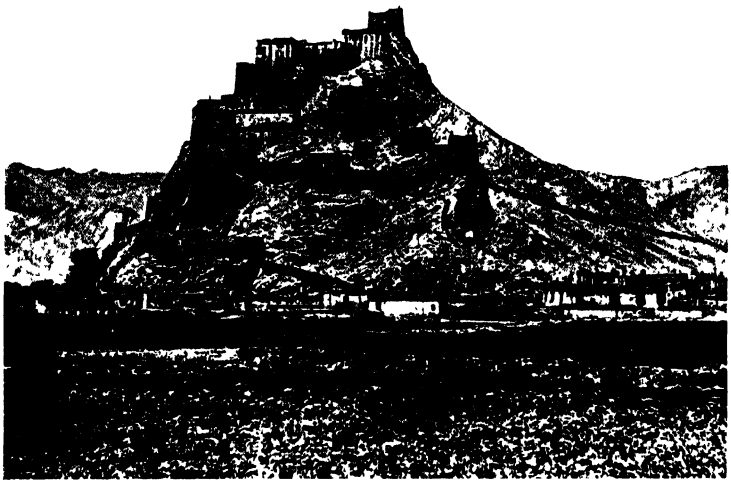
On the Western side of the square is an ancient

large Temple called Lha-brang or Palace of the Gods. Inside are many chapels dedicated to the various idols of this people, in which large lamps burn night and day, fed with melted butter instead of oil. There are some fine pictures in the entrance portico. This Temple (like others in Thibet) has a great pagoda-roof, covered with metal and other work, and bas-reliefs, all richly gilt. Round the edge, especially at the four corners, hang bells which ring with every gust of wind. This roof is not square and flat, but raised in the middle, and on the ridge are various figures. It is supported by some tall and strong columns and a great balustrade, through the openings of which light comes into the temple. All round the outside of the balustrade is a frieze of beautiful bas-reliefs in gilt metal. Services are held here every day by the monks of the adjoining monastery and are attended by a devout crowd of laymen and monks. A very broad street surrounds it, with some fine houses, and all day long troops of Thibettans walk round and round the Temple, always keeping it on their right ; they think thus to gain great indulgences. Some of the more devout even lie down flat and, marking where their head touches the ground, get up, and again lie down, putting their feet where their head has been, and thus go round and round the temple. No one, not even the King, is allowed to ride in this street, but is obliged to dismount and lead his horse or go some other way. Twice a year the great ceremony of the Mollam [Mönlam] is held here, of which I shall speak later.[25] Besides the monastery attached to this temple of Lha-brang there are other tall and large buildings belonging to the King, on either side and at the back. The treasuries of the King and of the Grand Lamá are kept in one part, in another is the custom-house, where merchandise entering Thibet is examined, for though, as I have already

stated, many bales are taxed in Kutti, some of the merchants prefer to wait until they arrive in Lhasá to pay duty. Merchandise which comes across the Western Desert, or from China by the road of the Eastern Desert, or by that of Kham is all examined and has to pay duty in the royal custom-house of Lhasá. Yet another part of these buildings is the public tribunal where civil and criminal cases are tried. There are three other temples of Idols with adjoining monasteries in Lhasá besides that of Lha-brang. The one to the North-East belongs specially to the Tartars, the other two on the North are both called Ramo-ccè [Ramoche]; one is outside, one in the city itself. The first is dedicated to Sciacchià-Thubbá (*the Buddha, or Shakya Muni*), the acknowledged Legislator of this blind people. His fabulous legends are depicted in some cloisters round the temple. The merchants of Nepal, who are numerous in Lhasá, sacrifice to this Idol, which they venerate exceedingly. The temple was built for them by that Nepalese Princess who became Queen of Thibet. There are a great many monks in this monastery and young boys who go from there to a university to take their degree in science.[26]

In old days, Lhasá had no walls; King Cinghez-Khang built those now existing with gates and ramparts in several places. The city stands in the centre of a great plain surrounded on all sides by high mountains, and a considerable river flows from West to East near the city (*the Kyi-chu, flowing from East to West*). Only four narrow valleys, defended by fortresses, lead through the mountains into the plain wherein stands Lhasá. On the West, where the road from Jegaçé debouches from a narrow ravine flanked by terrible mountains, is so strong a fortress that with no other arms than stones the passage of a whole army could be prevented.

PLATE V



GYANTSE JONG

(Photograph by J. C. White , by permission of Messrs. Johnston & Hoffman, Calcutta)

Photograph, E. H. C. Walsh

DEPUNG MONASTERY

[*face p.* 136

It then passes the large monastery of Bree-bung [Dre-pung], where live several Lamás, many Doctors and Masters, and several thousand monks, not only natives of this Third Thibet, but of Second Thibet, Upper and Lower Tartary, and China. To obtain a degree they generally have to study for twelve years.[27] Approaching nearer to the City one passes several public parks which beautify the plain and the road, to the North of which is a garden belonging to the King, with a magnificent palace adorned with admirable paintings, the figures being enriched with much gold and most exquisite colour. The palace was built and the garden laid out by that Grand Lamá, who was, as I shall presently mention, sentenced to death by King Cinghez-Khang. He used to go there to amuse himself with the Thibettan ladies. Shortly before arriving at the city gate is a high hill on the right, crowned by a monastery and a fortress, which defends Lhasá on this Western side.

Just inside the gate, on the left, is the famous Potalà, residence of the Grand Lamá of Thibet. I shall describe this Grand Lamá later, now I shall only speak of his fine Palace of Potalà. Potalà is a huge rock of considerable circumference and somewhat high. Below this rock to the South is a handsome square surrounded by high walls with great gates and bulwarks like a fortress, on the inside are fine colonnades. From here a wide, well-conceived and easy staircase leads up to the summit of the rock where stands a sumptuous palace five storeys high. The centre of the façade of this palace corresponding to the principal apartments is most perfect and well proportioned, the two wings do not quite correspond ; still it is a fine building. The riches contained therein are inestimable, especially in the apartment of the Grand Lamá, in the Lha-Khang, or Temple of the Idols, dedicated to one of their idols called Cen-ree-zij, about whom I shall

say something later. Now this Palace occupies the whole top of the rock of Potalà, but in old days it was smaller, as can be seen by the drawing made by the Rev. Albert D'Orville and the Rev. Johann Grüber of our Society, and by that of Father Athanasius Kircher, fig. xviii, chap. iv of his book, *La Cina Illustrata*, describing the journey of the above-mentioned fathers from China to Mogol.[28] The Palace was modernized, enlarged, adorned and enriched by the late Grand Lamá. On the North side of the Potalà is a wide and well-built road for horsemen leading from the plain to the top of the rock and the back door of the Palace; on the same side in the plain, not far off, is a lake surrounded by trees and pleasant shrubberies. A palace, circular in shape, called Lu-Khang, is in the centre of the lake, so you must take a boat to go there; it is surrounded by beautiful arcades and contains fine paintings. It was built by the same Grand Lamá who used to go there often, play games and divert himself with the Thibettan ladies.

CHAPTER VII

Of the Country round Lhasá and the Central Provinces of this Thibet.
(*MS. A, pp.* 32–34; *Fl. MS., f°* 86–87.)

At some distance to the North of Lhasá, at the foot of the mountains is another very large monastery and university called Serà, where live several Lamás, many Masters and Doctors, and thousands of monks, as I have described in the monastery of Bree-bung. Serà is like a big town. It is entirely surrounded by walls, save where it abuts on a high mountain. Streets and squares are well laid out, and the houses are tall and well built. There are two great temples with Idols, and several palaces, residences of the Lamás and chief priests of the temples.[29] On the

PLATE VI

SERA MONASTERY

(Photograph by J. C. White; by permission of Messrs. Johnston & Hoffman, Calcutta)

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summit of another mountain to the East of the monastery of Serà, is a convent of nuns. Between these two mountains a narrow road goes Northwards across the Eastern Desert to Cocconor [Koko-nor] of Lower Tartary and to China. This valley is easily defended by a small garrison against any number of enemies who might attempt to assail Lhasá.

Two other valleys lead out of the plain of Lhasá to the East; one, after crossing a high and horrible mountain, goes to Samiêe [Samye], the other, still more to the East, a narrow ravine between two very high mountains, debouches in the Province of Ta-zé [Dechen]. Both are guarded by several fortresses, placed high up, which could ward off any attack on Lhasá. Another monastery called Kaa-ndèn [Galdan], which is also a university, stands on the summit of one of these mountains over the latter valley; it is not so large as those of Bree-bung or Serà. But one of the principal Lamás of Thibet lives here, only inferior in rank to the Grand Lamá and the Lamá of Jegaçé, who represents the Grand Lamá at certain religious ceremonies in case of his enforced absence.[30]

Leaving the Lhasá plain on the Eastern side, after travelling for two days one reaches a celebrated city called Samiêe. Here is a large, magnificent, and ancient Temple of Idols, the first erected in Thibet; noteworthy as a building, for the quantity and variety of the statues, and for its riches. Annexed is a very considerable library containing a number of the original books regarding the sect of this people, the first version in that language brought with great expense many years ago from the Empire of Hindustan. These books, considered canonical by these Idolaters, are big volumes, the text is written in large gold letters and they are splendidly ornamented. There is a fine monastery and several magnificent palaces, especially those

of the Grand Lamá, the King, and the Lamá of the City, who is very rich and lives in great state. Many people come here with offerings from other parts of Thibet, thinking thereby to gain extraordinary indulgences, which are most liberally promised in those books. The memory of a certain Urghien [Urgyen], of whom I shall speak later, is held in great veneration. It is a most wild place, dominated on the West and the North by precipitous and exceedingly high mountains, while to the East and South is a wide sandy plain swept by many winds.[31]

One day's journey to the East brings you to a large river [Tsangpo] which is crossed by wooden boats, and to the South of this river, at the foot of the mountains is a big city called Çe-Thang [Tsetang], capital of the province of the same name. Several Governors and Ministers of State live here, some are Tartars, others Thibettans, and many merchants, it being a place of considerable commerce with a daily fair. A great quantity of very fine woollen cloth, like silk, is made here, and is much esteemed in all Thibet; there is also a monastery with a big temple of Idols. Çe-Thang is an important place because of the many merchants who pass through. The province borders on the West with that of Yar-lung, renowned in all Thibet for the quantity of large pieces of rock-crystal found there in great quantities which are exported to Nepal and Hindustan.[32] On the East is the thickly peopled province of Yee, whose Governor is the chief of all other Governors of provinces. More gold is found in Yee than in other parts of Thibet, and in rather larger nuggets. The mountains are entirely treeless, only a certain short rough grass grows on them. The provinces of Pari and Mon [North-West Bhutan] lie to the South and South-East of Çe-Thang, where grows much rice which is sent to other parts of Thibet; also certain red twigs which give a most

excellent red dye, especially to woollen cloth, and are used everywhere in Thibet. From here come also quantities of tragacanth gum which is used to dye cloth and of which also Spanish wax (*cera di Spagna*) is made.[33] White cotton of various kinds, cloth like silk, and another sort called tree-silk, are all made in Mon and Pari. These products are known all over Thibet, especially the red dye and the gum, which is bought here by merchants for very little and sold at a high price in other provinces. Leaving Çe-Thang and going East one comes to a long chain bridge supported by some thick piers planted in the bed of the river.

CHAPTER VIII

Of other Central Provinces of Thibet.

(*MS. A, pp.* 35–38 ; *Fl. MS. f°* 88–90.)

After traversing the province of Yee and crossing a high and precipitous mountain one reaches a country where the climate is not so rigid, called Takpò. It is divided into several provinces of which Takpò-Cignì is the chief, the others are Takpò-to, Takpò-Ru, Takpò-tru-Lung and Takpò-Khier,[34] each has its own Governor. Fruit, especially grapes, are abundant in the last-named province, and they have more wood than in other parts of Thibet. *Reopontico* grows all over these mountains, and *assenzio pontico* is quite common ; *Melilotus* (sweet clover), *spigonardo* (spikenard), resinous juniper, also a quantity of most excellent pine-resin is found.[35] Pasture is better and more abundant here, and as in these provinces there are fewer merchants, the riches of a family is calculated by the number of mountain oxen and cows, the good pasturage and the extraordinary abundance of butter produced ; large caravans laden with it go to the other provinces of Thibet. All

the writing paper used in Thibet comes from Takpó, a great deal is also sent to Nepal. It is made from the thin bark, or rather cuticle, of slender boughs of a shrub which grows there (*a daphne* ; *see Note* 30, *Book I*). The wine, which we also used in the Mission for the Holy Mass, is made in the Province of Takpò-Khier, but must be boiled until reduced by one third, or it will not keep. The Thibettans do not understand how to make wine properly and do not consume it, but only drink a sort of beer called *ciang* [chang] which I shall describe later.

Two places in Takpò are regarded by this people as most holy. One is on the border between Takpò-Cigní and Takpò-Khier. Near the summit of a very high and terrible mountain is a fine level piece of ground on which stands a magnificent Temple of Idols, wherein special services are held by a number of monks and nuns, Trubbà and Trubbamà, who lead a more solitary life and are distributed in four monasteries and convents on this mountain. There are also two large, fine palaces where live two Lamàs, who are powerful Princes and are much respected. One of them is obliged to marry and his son succeeds to his honour. The other is of the class of Lamàs who, by this people, are believed to be born again in a new incarnation. This Lamà takes rank with the Grand Lamà of Thibet who, as I have said, lives in Potalà. Why there are these two Lamàs, the Grand Lamà of Thibet and the principal Lamà of this place, I shall explain later. The summit of this mountain is all rock, very high, most frightful and precipitous. Near the top is another palace to which the principal Lamà retires for some months in the year, as we go into retreat for spiritual exercises. This rocky mountain is split by fissures and in some places are great cliffs of rock. On one of these cliffs stands the Palace of Retreat, from which the only communication with an opposite cliff is by a narrow

and horrible bridge of logs ; when these are pulled up it is shut off from the world. The Thibettans believe this Palace to be a miraculous thing. People come from many parts of Thibet on pilgrimage with infinite devoutness, believing thereby to gain special Indulgences. Abundant offerings of every description are brought to the monks and nuns, but especially to the Lamá of this place, and although all Religious are respected and esteemed by this people, those dwelling on this mountain are looked up to with even more reverence and veneration. A great number of Thibettans leave directions that their corpses are to be brought to this mountain ; indeed, many are carried here to a certain spot where the bodies are exposed to be eaten by vultures, crows and other beasts of prey who congregate here in great numbers.

The other place the Thibettans venerate exceedingly is called Çe-rì [Tseri or Tsari], on the extreme borders of Takpò-tru-Lung, where begins the province of Cong-tò. Çe-rì is surrounded by most rugged mountains, rising one above the other. Troops of pilgrims, men and women, go thither to walk in procession round the foot of the mountain, which takes them several days. During this time absolute chastity must be observed, even between man and wife, or they believe that death will soon overtake them. It is considered a sacrilege for any woman, even for nuns, to go to the upper mountains ; and there is a point beyond which they are forbidden to pass. This they never attempt as they believe that any woman who dares to pass this point will be put to a fearful death by the Kha-ndro-mà, tutelary goddesses of the place.[36] These upper mountains are always covered with deep snow and the cold is intense. It sometimes happens that pilgrims are buried in the snow, or perish miserably in violent storms of wind and snow. These blind people think that such a death in this place is a happy one, and

that whoever loses his life here will be fortunate in future transmigrations, while those who survive, besides receiving ample indulgences, will enjoy long life in this present transmigration. In the most terrible and impracticable heights of these mountains are hermitages, placed afar one from another, whose inmates only descend at certain times of the year to beg, not so much for themselves as to enable them to give food and hospitality to the pilgrims. On the upper mountains is a big lake, about which the credulous people tell several tales which I think it is useless to repeat as they are assuredly fabulous.

In these provinces of Thibet, or rather of Takpò, some people of their own free will become monks and nuns ; but many are forced by law to take the vows. When there are three sons in a family the second is obliged to become a monk, if he dies one of the other two must take his place, and the same holds good for the daughters.

To the South of the Province of Takpò-tru-Lung and of the above-mentioned mountains of Çé-rí is a Province called Lhorò [Lhari, the Country of the South] where rather large nuggets of gold are found ; it borders on the South with that people called Lhobà.

Traversing the province of Takpò and going East (North-East), after crossing an exceedingly high, but not difficult mountain (*possibly Kongmo Pass*, 17,250 *feet*), where grow many trees, one comes to the country of Cong-bò, divided into Upper Congbò, or Cong-to, and Lower Congbò, or Cong-mé, which are again divided into several provinces. Although the climate is milder, yet being very sandy this country is barren and unfruitful. Still there are many rich people because of the gold found in Cong-bò, and they are generally engaged in trade. In the middle of Upper and of Lower Cong-bò flows a wide river, the same that passes near Jegaçé,

Lhasá and Çe-thang, but here it is far larger as it receives much water in its long course.[37] Higher up it is less confined, but here the banks are high, and in some places very beautiful with quantities of cypress trees (*probably junipers*) which are common in Cong-bó. All the Cong-bó provinces lying to the South of the river march with the above-mentioned people called Lhobà, which means Southern People.[38] These Lhobà are proud, uncultured and wild. They generally live in the forests and shoot wild animals with bows and arrows, which they eat raw or half roasted. Occasionally they devour human flesh, and do not hesitate to kill a man when they see he is young, fat and of good complexion. They always go armed with bows and arrows and are admirable shots. A most barbarous custom prevails among them. When a man is dying some of his relations console him by telling him not to be cast down or afraid of being alone when he leaves this world, because they will send so many companions (specifying the number) to comfort him with their conversation. As soon as he is dead these relations or friends kill the number of persons promised, and as a token that the promise has been fulfilled make a necklace of a number of teeth corresponding to the number of persons they have slaughtered.

The roads are kept quite impracticable in order to prevent any stranger from entering their country, which is absolutely forbidden. Were people allowed to enter it would only take a few days to arrive at Rongmati from Thibet, and in a short time men could go from Bengalá to Thibet. Not even the Thibettans, who are close neighbours and have many dealings with them, are allowed to enter their country, but are obliged to stop on the frontier to barter goods. These are chiefly large quantities of excellent honey, wax, cardamom, myrobalan and many other medicinal herbs.[39]

The province of Cong-mé (Lower Kong-bò) on the East ends in precipitous and narrow passages leading, according to what the Thibettans say, to great uninhabited forests, where, however, the climate is good. The provinces of Upper and Lower Cong-bó to the North of the said river, march with the kingdom of Kham, once an independent state, but now belonging to Thibet. A great number of very rich merchants, both native and foreign, live there. Besides the trade with China, which borders on Kham, and the numerous merchants, there are many very rich inhabitants, owing to the quantity of gold and silver found. I never actually entered Kham, but only got a few hours' distance from its frontier.

CHAPTER IX

How the Kingdom of Thibet fell into the Hands of the Tartars.[40]

(*MS. A, pp.* 38–42; *Fl. MS. f°* 63–65.)

Now this Third Thibet is one large kingdom, but in former days it was divided into several small states governed by absolute and independent petty Kings. One state was called Gang; the capital was the city of Jegaçe, and it consisted of the provinces lying to the West and bordering on the Kingdom of Nepal and the Great Desert I have already described. Another state was called Uù, the capital was Lhasà and it consisted of the provinces in the centre of this Thibet. Yet another was called Hŏr, and consisted of some provinces to the North and the Desert to the North-East on the road to China. Another state was called Kham, larger than the others and consisting of the provinces bordering on China and Lower Tartary, of those lying to the East, and of the large one of Kongbò, stretching from North to South for 10° lat., from China to the frontier of the people called Lhobà, already mentioned. Mon was the name of the

state consisting of the Southern provinces, and another was called Brêe-mê-jong [Sikkim], bordering, on the South-West, with Negrikot, Altibari and Porania [Nagrakata, Haldibari and Purnea], which are now provinces belonging to the Empire of Mogol, lying beyond the Ganges, and reaching to Raje-Mahel [Rajmahal], belonging to the Great Subadaria of Maksud-Aabad [Murshidabad], which is in the region of the tropics. All these states were successively conquered by the Grand Lamà or by the King of Lhasá, and their rulers deposed, with the exception of the King of Brêe-mè-jong, otherwise Dam-scior, who is now a feudatory, paying tribute to the King of Lhasá. From time immemorial until the present century Thibet was governed by petty Kings, natives of Thibet, but at the beginning of this century it fell under Tartar rule and since 1720 under the Emperors of China.

How the Kingdom of Great Thibet fell into the hands of the Tartars is as follows :—

The King of Thibet,[41] since the end of last century and the commencement of this, was perpetually at war with the above-mentioned Kingdom of Gang, and had named a Tartar, Prince of Lower Tartary and brother of the ruler of Kokonor related to the Emperor of China, his general-in-chief and defender of his Kingdom. By his valour the Prince put an end to the incessant wars between the Kings of Uù and Gang by conquering the Kingdom of Gang, taking the fortress of Jegaçé, subjugating the King, his people and all his family, and placing the King of Uù, or Lhasá, on his throne. Owing to this victory and to his valour and prudence the Prince became very popular, and the ungrateful Thibettan King, consumed with envy and jealousy, instead of rewarding the defender of his throne and the enlarger of his Kingdom, caused poison secretly to be given to him and to another Tartar, his principal officer named Targum-Trêescij.

Fortunately an antidote was administered in time, and they escaped with their lives. The King again attempted to poison them, and again they were saved. Enraged at such detestable ingratitude and reiterated treachery, the two Tartars attacked and took Lhasá and forced the King to fly to a strong fortress not far from the city. They besieged but could not take the fortress, so determined to have recourse to stratagem and punish treachery with treachery.

Raising the siege of the fortress they professed a strong desire for peace. But feeling sure the King would never trust men he had so grievously injured, they arranged that the overtures for peace should apparently come from the supreme and venerated authority of the Grand Lamà. At that time the Grand Lamà[42] was a dissolute youth, thoroughly vicious, and a drunkard. The Tartars bribed with splendid gifts and still more splendid promises a monk, the favourite and trusted minister of the Grand Lamà, who wrote a sham Ka-scioa [Ka-shō-pa], or edict, to the king of Thibet in the name of the Grand Lamà, exhorting him to leave the fortress, accept the peace offered by the Tartars and to trust to his authority to settle everything. When the edict was written, and the Grand Lamà was quite intoxicated, the monk took the great seal off his neck and sealing the edict, gave it to the Prince who sent it to the King. The great respect the King had for the authority of the Grand Lamà deluded him into leaving the fortress, whereupon the Tartar Prince and his minister Targum-trêescij seized and killed him, thus avenging themselves. The Prince took possession of all Thibet under the name of Cinghes-Khang, and Targum-trêescij became viceroy and prime minister. The Kingdom was quite satisfied and the Emperor of China sent then, and many times afterwards, ambassadors to salute Cinghes-Khang as absolute King of all Thibet.

His royal birth, relationship with the Emperor

of China, and his own worth, caused Cinghes-Khan to be feared and respected by his subjects. His other good qualities and moral excellence caused him to be esteemed and loved, not only by his subjects, but by foreigners, of whom there were many in the Kingdom of Third Thibet. By nature he was gay, joyous and affable. Courteous to all, easy of approach, he listened to and comforted those to whom he gave audience, and was very liberal with money. He had a great liking for foreigners, especially for those who came from a far distant country. His intellect was keen and prompt; thus when I propounded some points in religious doctrine entirely opposed to their errors he argued with suitable reasons and was set upon elucidating every point in private and in public disputations. Though intellectually so acute, he was docile, not clinging obstinately to the errors of his sect, but admitting the truth of some of the points elucidated, and then assuring me that when absolutely convinced of the falsity of their religion and the truth of our Holy Faith he would not only himself conform to the laws of Jesus Christ but insist on his court and kingdom doing likewise. He was admired for the prudence with which he managed affairs, and looked into every detail himself, instead of leaving it to others. His prudence would have been more useful to himself had it been accompanied by the quality, very necessary to rulers, of suspicion; the want of this cost him his kingdom, his family and his life, as I shall describe. His administration of justice was most equitable, he favoured no man, and was honoured by all; as for any crime or in any cause, he delivered so just a sentence that the administration of justice by Cinghes-Khang was as rare as it was admirable. Owing to these and other natural gifts and virtuous qualities he retained the throne until December, 1717, when a catastrophe occurred, the origin and causes of which I will now explain.

CHAPTER X

Of the Revolution which broke out in Thibet, before it was conquered from the Tartars by the Chinese.

(*MS. A, pp.* 42–47; *Fl. MS. f°* 65–70.)

As I have said, the Grand Lamà of Thibet, at the time when Cinghes-Khang ruled the Kingdom, was a dissolute youth, addicted to every vice, thoroughly depraved, and quite incorrigible, because of the blind veneration and stupid faith of the Thibettans. Ignoring the sacred customs of Lamàs and monks in Thibet he began by bestowing care on his hair, then he took to drinking intoxicating liquors, to gambling, and at length no girl or married woman or good-looking person of either sex was safe from his unbridled licentiousness. Cinghes-Khang disapproved of, and could not adapt himself to the stolid folly of his subjects who venerated, loved and applauded the iniquitous Grand Lamà. By wise counsels and then by severe reprimands he tried to cure him of such profligacy. But finding counsels, reprimands, and threats unavailing, the King determined to take violent measures and stamp out an evil which was contaminating the whole Kingdom. Having informed the Emperor of China and obtained his agreement, King Cinghes-Khang, under various pretexts, obliged the Grand Lamà to leave Lhasá and proceed towards China escorted by Tartars and some of his trusted ministers. On the way they presented the king's order for his execution [1706–1707]. Before the sentence was carried out the Grand Lamà turned to some of his followers and bade them tell his beloved Thibettans not to weep, as he would return to them. On the borders of China he would be born again, and they must search for him there. King Cinghes-Khang then made a monk of a certain age Grand Lamà and installed him on the throne,[43] but the news

of the death of the Grand Lamà aroused intense grief among the Thibettans and implacable hatred against the King, especially among the monks of Thibet. They wished to dethrone him, but for the moment were powerless until they obtained help from outside, as I shall relate. They attempted to refuse to recognize the new Grand Lamà but were prevented by the King's strict orders and by fear of the Emperor of China who sent ambassadors to see that the Grand Lamà nominated by Cinghes-Khang should be acknowledged under pain of death. Outwardly all went well ; the new Grand Lamà was acclaimed and obeyed, but sedition was rife, and it was determined to get rid of the King and the Grand Lamà whenever an opportunity occurred.

The Thibettans, especially the monks, partly by letter, partly by envoys, appealed to the King of Upper Independent Tartary [Dzungaria]. What will insatiable greed not induce nobles and monarchs to do for the increase of their power and their dominions ! The said King was a friend and a relation of King Cinghes-Khang, yet he agreed to betray, persecute and destroy him. And what was more abominable, he suggested that the old ties of friendship and relationship should be increased by still nearer ones, hoping thus to succeed more easily in his iniquitous designs. He sent ambassadors to Cinghes-Khang begging him to make their relationship yet closer by accepting his daughter as the bride of his eldest son, and if this pleased him, to send his son to Upper Independent Tartary. King Cinghes-Khang agreed and sent his eldest son accompanied by several of the principal ministers of the Kingdom and a goodly number of cavalry to the King's court. Sometime afterwards other ambassadors were sent by the King of Upper Independent Tartary to beg King Cinghes-Khang for a quantity of gold and silver, for cavalry and foot soldiers and, above all, for some

of the most competent and trusted ministers, alleging that he was at war with Moscovia, had a quarrel with China, and feared a revolution in the Kingdom of Yarkand, which he had conquered and treated barbarously some years before. King Cinghes-Khang, by nature kindly and unsuspicious, especially of a friend and relation, immediately sent all that had been asked for.

Meanwhile a report had been spread in Thibet that a child of tender years, born on the confines of Lower Tartary and China, near Sciling [Sining],[44] had declared (this often happens in Thibet, as I shall say later) that he was the Grand Lamà of Thibet who had been killed by King Cinghes-Khang and had been born again according to the promise made to his beloved Thibettans before he died; that the throne of the Grand Lamà of Lhasá was his, and that all he desired was to see his beloved disciples and help them out of their present miserable condition. This report created incredible excitement among the Thibettans, especially among the monks, and all they craved for was to see their Grand Lamà, whose return they had so anxiously expected, again seated on his throne. They thought that the King, who was of the same sect and believed in transmigration, would receive with veneration this new-born child as the same being he had caused to be killed. But they were wrong. The King sent some trustworthy Lamàs and doctors to the place where the boy lived in order that they (such is the custom in Thibet as I shall explain) should most carefully examine whether the said child really was the late Grand Lamà now born again. These Lamàs and doctors after strict investigation returned and informed the King they had not been able to recognize sufficient signs in this child to prove that he was the late Grand Lamà. Therefore the king not only forbade the child to be brought to Thibet but arranged with the Emperor of China that he should

be put into a fortress surrounded by trustworthy guards. For some years the Thibettans tried in various ways in vain to persuade the Emperor of China to set their Grand Lamà free, and at last determined not to delay any longer in carrying out the plot arranged with the King of Upper Independent Tartary against King Cinghes-Khang and the Grand Lamà installed by him against their will.

The chief and most violent instigators of the revolution were several Lamàs and nearly all the monks in the three principal monasteries and universities of Thibet, Brèebung, Serà and Jegaçé, the capital of the province of Gang. They bribed many of the nobles of Thibet and some of the King's ministers in order that they might receive and help the enemy. The Lamàs then secretly sent separate batches of the youngest and most robust monks to Upper Independent Tartary to be enrolled in the army commanded by Gĕ-ring-ton-drup [Tse-ring-don-dup] the commander-in-chief, and three other generals, two of whom were monks and had studied and taken their degrees in the monasteries of Brèebung and Serà near Lhasá. The said commander-in-chief Gĕ-ring-ton-drup had also studied as a monk in the famous monastery and university of Jegaçé, and was nearly related to the King of Upper Independent Tartary. By nature he was passionate, expert, and proud, daring, intrepid and warlike. He seemed to be insensible to discomfort or fatigue, his favourite seat was the saddle (even in times of peace), his bed a horse-rug, and his softest pillow a shield, a sword, a quiver and arrows. What he trusted in most was his vigilance, which suggested to his mind new and divers stratagems ; his principal and most faithful adjutants in all he undertook were secrecy and simulation, so that outwardly he seemed to approve what in reality he condemned. In short he to a certain degree resembled the Great Alexander, and like him showed the world that the great victors

in war are those who have been educated in the school of liberal Arts and the Lyceum of Science, and that to rule troops and armies it is good first to submit to the discipline of an Aristotle.

When this army, summoned by the blinded and foolish Thibettans, was ready to leave Upper Independent Tartary and spread ruin and desolation in Thibet, another large force was prepared to march against China in order to prevent the Emperor from sending help to his friend and relative King Cinghes-Khang, and also to try and set free the boy who pretended to be the legitimate Grand Lamà who had been killed and was now born again. The plan was well imagined, as once the child was in their hands all Thibet would rise and greet them with joyful acclamations, and then turn against the King. The conquest of Thibet would thus be a bloodless one, and perhaps not so transitory as hitherto, and they might hope to occupy the throne and land of Thibet for ever.

At the time these two armies set forth, a false report was spread abroad that the eldest son of King Cinghes-Khang with his wife, daughter of the King of Upper Independent Tartary, was returning to Thibet with a large retinue. Now King Cinghes-Khang had always been in the habit of leaving Lhasá early in June with his Tartars for a place called Dam, lying to the North of the capital, where he remained until the end of October for hunting. When therefore on the first of June, 1717, he heard that his son was on the way, he prepared to go and meet him at Dam, although he did not attach much faith to the news because his son had not written for some time. But when the approach of a multitude of people was signalled he at once started in the hopes of embracing the son he had not seen for some years. While engaged in arranging festivities for such a happy event the King's second son, with a few followers, suddenly arrived

from his estates in Lower Tartary, and weeping in great agitation told his father of the infamous plot laid by the King of Upper Independent Tartary. He had come with all speed to warn and to aid the King as the enemy was close at hand. The King, furious, summoned his Tartars and the ministers who had accompanied him to Dam, told them the news his son had brought and encouraged them to repulse the enemy, who were already preparing to attack him.

This battle would have completely annihilated King Cinghes-Khang and his family if the vigilance and intelligence of the Prince had not discovered a secret agreement between some of the ministers and the enemy. The traitors were seized and the whole plan of battle altered owing to letters and preconcerted signals found in their possession. Thus King Cinghes-Khang with his small force gained a complete victory and was able to occupy a position commanding the road to Lhasá, and cutting the enemy's communication with any rebels inside the city. This position he held until the end of October. Meanwhile reinforcements were summoned from all the outlying provinces of Thibet to Lhasá, where the fortifications were being strengthened under the direction of certain Chinese ambassadors who had been there for some months. The whole city as far as Potalà was surrounded with new walls, gates with strong towers, and ravelins with ditches, palisades, and other defences. The city would have been impregnable had not treachery been rife among the inhabitants.

Dam, open to the North, was swept by gelid and violent winds in winter, so towards the end of October Cinghes-Khang, his son, and all his people retired into Lhasá, well fortified, as I have said, and well provisioned with troops. In spite of the terrible cold the enemy remained inactive for another month, expecting the arrival of the army they had left on the

confines of China and always hoping to see them appear with the boy who pretended to be the Grand Lamà of Thibet. But they hoped in vain, because the army sent against China had been utterly defeated, and the boy had been more rigorously imprisoned.

When the news reached general Gĕ-ring-ton-drup that his plans, founded on a junction with this second army, were entirely upset, his anxiety was great. To attack a well fortified city and fight against a whole kingdom with only six thousand men would be too hazardous. To retreat meant exposing the lives of his men and his own to the furious onslaughts of the justly irritated Chinese. What did he do? Keeping the news of the defeat a profound secret, he announced to his soldiers and to the anxious Thibettans that the army sent against China had gained a glorious victory and was advancing in triumph, bringing the new Grand Lamà, who had been delivered from prison, to his beloved and faithful Thibettans. All that was now necessary, he added, was to arm and march to Lhasá, where the inhabitants, out of love and veneration, would not only make no resistance but open wide the gates of the city to those who brought the long wished for Grand Lamà back to his throne. His soldiers at once seized their arms and started towards the city of Lhasá, fully persuaded that they were not going to fight but would be received with great joy and acclamations.

At daybreak on the twenty-first of November they drew near Lhasá, halted just out of reach of gunshot (the cannon were not very large), and separated into four divisions. General Gĕ-ring-ton-drup remained on the northern side of the city, near the great monastery of Serà, the second division went to the West, not far from the monastery of Bréebung, the third to the East, close to the monastery of Kaa-nden, and the fourth took a position above the banks of the great river that flows near Lhasá. No sooner did the

Tartars appear than the monks of the above-mentioned monasteries rushed out with shouts of joy to welcome them and bring food, arms and ammunition ; and what was of more importance to the general, a number of the young men, equipped as soldiers, joined his army, thus considerably increasing the number of his troops. To avoid prolixity the result shall be told in a few sentences. After midnight on the thirtieth of November Lhasá was attacked on all sides, and, in accordance with a secret conspiracy, ladders were let down to enable the enemy to scale the walls ; at the same time the Northern and Eastern gates were thrown open and a bloody fight ensued. At daylight the Tartars were masters of the unhappy city, and general Gĕ-ring-ton-drup was conducted with great rejoicing to the Royal Palace called Trussi-Khang, which they found quite empty, the king with his family, the viceroy and the general having taken refuge in the Palace of Potalà, residence of the Grand Lamà. This stood on the summit of a wide but not very high rock, like a strong and secure fortress.

As soon as Gĕ-ring-ton-drup set foot in the Royal Palace he gave orders to sack the city, and the monks who had joined his soldiers were the most greedy and cruel robbers. They rushed with arms in their hands into the houses, not sparing even their confederates, and invaded and stripped the monasteries, robbing the treasures which had been deposited and hidden in the temples. Not satisfied they returned again and again to the houses, sparing neither age nor sex, wounding and savagely beating some, tying the arms of others behind their backs and suspending them to beams and scourging them to make them reveal where their riches were concealed. For two days and nights these scenes continued until everything of value had been taken. It was pitiful to see those who once were rich and lived in comfort reduced to so sad a state, nearly naked, with no other

consolation than to know that everyone was in the same condition. Also the Revd. Capuchin Fathers lost nearly all their possessions and were badly treated.

All that was left to them was a little money they had buried in the place where the wood was kept. One of the Revd. Fathers was stripped naked, and so severely beaten that the wounds took long to heal.

As to myself, I have already said I was for some months in the University of Serà, studying their books and listening to their disputations. I was there when the Tartars advanced to besiege Lhasá and was advised to go back to the city as a safer place. But I thought it more prudent to remain where I was. No harm came to me, the little money I had was not taken nor my bed or the furniture of my chapel. Everything in the house at Lhasá which belonged to the Revd. Capuchin Fathers and to me was robbed, only the money was left (which was very little), buried as I said under the wood, together with some belonging to the Capuchin Fathers.

CHAPTER XI

Of the tragic End of King Cinghes-Khang and of his Family.
(*MS. A, pp.* 47–53; *Fl. MS. f°* 70–76.)

On the third day, which was the third of December, 1717, the barbarians made a supreme effort and attacked the Palace of Potalà, the Grand Lamà's magnificent residence. With machines and ladders they succeeded in climbing the walls on the southern side, but finding it would be extremely difficult to enter the palace and the fortress, they called fire to their aid. When the principal door was destroyed they rushed in, but King Cinghes-Khang, his second son, the Viceroy and the general had already escaped by a secret door on the northern side, where good

horses awaited them, leaving the Queen with her small son in the care of the two Lamàs of Lhasá and Jegaçé. Their flight was soon known and the enemy dashed furiously after them. The fugitives reached a deep ditch with a double palisade at which the King's horse took fright, and in lieu of jumping the ditch fell with the unfortunate King. The inhuman Tartars came up and attacked Cinghes-Khang, who defended himself valiantly, wounding and killing several of his assailants; with a last stroke he cut off the right arm of the man nearest to him and fell dead. When the general Gĕ-ring-ton-drup heard the news he left the royal palace with sorrowful mien, and as soon as he saw the dead King threw himself on the body and bathed the wounds with his tears, loudly praising the many virtues and admirable qualities of the King he had so basely and treacherously betrayed.

An even worse fate awaited the three fugitives, the Prince, the Viceroy Targum-trêescij, and the general named Ton-drup-çe-ring. They had avenged the king's death by killing many of the enemy and then, getting safely away in the middle of the night, arrived at the house of the Governor of one of the principal North-Eastern provinces of Thibet called Tâzê, wherefore the governor is named Debà-Tâzê. This official was of high birth, a near relation of the former King of Thibet, who, as I have said, had been killed by King Cinghes-Khang. He had long aspired to the crown which had belonged to his relations, and was by nature cruel and inhuman as will be seen by an event which happend some years ago. His only son, high-principled, intelligent and so amiable that he was beloved by all, had attracted the attention of King Cinghes-Khang, who treated him like his own son and kept him at his Court. Instead of rejoicing at his son's good fortune he was devoured by jealousy and feared that he

might perhaps thwart the insanely ambitious plans he cherished. One evening, during a gay supper, poison was secretly administered to his son; with dry eyes and without a movement he watched the deadly pallor spread over the youth's face, and without a tremor saw him fall lifeless.

Partly from hatred of and a desire to take vengeance on Cinghes-Khang and partly because possessed by ambition he imagined that the death of the three heroes now in his house would clear the way to the throne of Thibet, which he had so long coveted, he waited until his guests were asleep and then sent news to Gĕ-ring-ton-drup that the fugitives were in his power. A strong body of Tartars at once left Lhasá, seized the unfortunate men and dragged them to the feet of the victorious general who ordered the Prince and the Viceroy to be imprisoned in small dark cells with the pavement for their bed, and only enough food to keep them alive for future tortures. Turning to general Ton-drup-çe-ring, with soft words he reminded him that he was a native of Upper Independent Tartary, and offered him an important post at his Court with great riches and a high salary. The young general refused every offer, even that of decent clothes in lieu of the torn and squalid rags he had on, declaring that all he cared for was the unhappy condition of the royal family and that he would never forget the kindness and beneficence of the late king Cinghes-Khang.

As I have already said, the Tartars, insatiable plunderers, had invaded the Palace of Potalà and found the Grand Lamá appointed by Cinghes-Khang. He gladly relinquished the throne, and begged to be allowed to pass the remainder of his days in his old monastery as a simple monk. The Grand Lamà of Jegaçé, considered the second oracle of Thibet, possessing authority by reason of his riches, his great age, knowledge and sagacity, was also at Potalà.

He was greatly esteemed by king Cinghes-Khang, by the emperor of China and by general Gĕ-ring-ton-drup, whose superior tutor and Lamà he had been when the general studied as a monk for some years in the monastery and university of Jegaçé. Relying on his authoritative position, and the respect always paid to him, he addressed the audacious enemy, reproaching them severely for their perfidy, treachery, the infamous murder of an innocent King which would be condemned by all nations, the massacre of so many persons, and the violent plunder of the city. Life, he added, was too painful after such tragic scenes ; all he demanded was to be killed with the sword that had killed the innocent King, and to mingle his blood with that of a King and a people he loved and mourned. Then presenting to them the sorrowing Queen with the little Prince, Cinghes-Khang's son of three or four years old, with many tears he implored them not to maltreat the unfortunate Queen and the little Prince whose tender years and innocence pleaded in his favour.

This moving scene inside the palace of Potalà was followed by a public and not less affecting scene in the streets. From Potalà a strong force of Tartars conducted the old Lamà of Jegaçé, mourning over the woes of others and therefore more to be pitied ; the Grand Lamà, no longer escorted (as before) by a brilliant retinue ; and the weeping Queen secured by bonds of white silk, with her little boy, who excited the compassion of all beholders, to the royal palace of Trussi-Khang. The victorious general Gĕ-ring-ton-drup did not venture to insult his old superior, the Lamà of Jegaçé, or to kill the others, but he placed them in strict confinement in the royal palace. The Tartars plundered the palace of Potalà, and their booty was incredible in riches and rare treasures ; especially in the Grand Lamà's private apartments, in the temple of their idols in the principal wing of

the palace, and the thrones. Only one who has seen with his own eyes can realize the value of the booty. The barbarous conqueror of Thibet knew that King Cinghes-Khang's treasures and those of the Grand Lamà, a great part of which he had been unable to discover, had been confided to the care of the Viceroy Targum Trescij. He therefore subjected the said Viceroy to such torments and tortures that all he longed for was death. Knowing the deplorable state he was in I ardently wished to help him, but all I could do was secretly to send him my bed, as he suffered much from lying on the cold pavement. Also I gave some money to a friend who was able to send daily *cià* for him to drink, prepared according to the custom of that country, which I shall later describe. Tired of the resistance of the faithful Viceroy and seeing their efforts useless, it was decided to send him, with the Queen and the little Prince her son and the other Prince, Cinghes-Khang's second son, to the King of Upper Independent Tartary in order that he might kill them and thus satiate his detestable cruelty, or that they might die on the long journey of three months' suffering and want.

Fearing some opposition the Tartars made their preparations in secret and sent off the unhappy prisoners like victims to execution. They had already reached the desert of the North-East boundary, where the road from China leads to Upper Tartary, ere general Ton-drup-çe-ring heard of their departure. The liberty granted to him, which had seemed so odious when compared to the sufferings of the royal captives, he now welcomed, hoping to be able to set them free or die in the attempt. Leaving a letter to be given to the barbarous conqueror, general Gĕ-ring-ton-drup, he started alone, overtook and furiously attacked the escort of the four unhappy victims, and, fighting valiantly one against many,

spolia opima, succeeded in delivering the half-dead Viceroy and inducing him to seek safety in flight, thus exposing himself to grave peril for the liberty of his friend. The heroic general was on the point of again attacking the astonished enemy when news came that the cruel general Gĕ-ring-ton-drup had revenged himself for his flight from Lhasá by torturing and then cutting into small pieces his much loved wife. The tears he shed only served to inflame his valour, he threw himself into the very midst of the enemy, where he saw the unhappy Queen and the two Princes, miserable survivors of the royal family. Like lightning he fell on their escort, his flashing eyes inspired terror as he trod over the corpses of so many adversaries, when unmindful of the severe wounds he had received, and within an arm's length of the wretched prisoners, he suddenly lost consciousness and fell. With loud shouts of inhuman joy the Tartars seized him, cut off his hands, feet, ears, and nose, and set him on a horse. But death was soon to put an end to his sufferings; with eyes turned towards the royal prisoners, the brave young general expired, whose memory will long live in Thibet, China and other adjacent Kingdoms. The fate of the unfortunate Queen, of her innocent child, and of the Prince ought now to be told, but I prefer not to afflict the reader by describing their lamentable end. Also I perceive that I have already been induced by my profound and heartfelt gratitude for the affection shown me by King Cinghes-Khang, his ministers and family to exceed the limits of a plain and unvarnished recital such as I had promised.

The Viceroy Targum-trescij, unable at once to avenge his sufferings and the death of his beloved friend on the savage enemy, left the desert which leads towards the East to Upper Independent Tartary, and went to the West, crossing the province of

Gang and other provinces, until he reached the Great Desert I have already described, which from the West extends as far as Cartoa [Gartok], from thence to Yarkand, and from Yarkand to Upper Independent Tartary. When the Viceroy reached Cartoa he sought out, encouraged, and organized the survivors of the troops sent by Cinghes-Khang to defend that extreme frontier of Thibet from any possible foe. The viceroy's intention was to close the pass between Cartoa and High Tartary, thus cutting all communication between the conqueror of Thibet and his native country.

His design succeeded. The Chinese had occupied the Eastern road, so the king of Upper Independent Tartary or Giongar (the Tartar name) being unaware of the snare laid by Targum-trescij, sent envoys and then troops to reinforce the army in Thibet by the road passing through Cartoa. None of the messengers sent from Lhasá to Giongar, or any troops sent from there to Thibet, ever reached their destination.

After long waiting, the Giongar general Gĕ-ring-ton-drup, the barbarous conqueror of Thibet, getting no answer from Upper Tartary, was angry and perplexed, not knowing whether some unforeseen accident had happened or whether he had lost the favour of his King, that execrable traitor. At last, after mature deliberation, knowing the insatiate greed of his King and his countrymen, he decided to send the rich treasures taken, not only from the city of Lhasá, but from all Thibet, with a strong force of his Giongars by the Western road across the Great Desert to Cartoa, and on to Upper Tartary. Thus he hoped to induce the King to confirm him in possession of Thibet and to send more troops to reap a yet richer harvest.

The Viceroy Targum-trescij had meanwhile secretly drilled and instructed the Thibettans at

Cartoa, and when the Giongars arrived there after a journey of four months, they were met by friendly and festive people who invited them to rest a few days from the dangers and tediums of such a journey in large tents which had been set up on purpose. After mutual compliments the Giongars accepted and feasting began. *Ciang* (a kind of beer) was served and quantities of *aracca* [arak], all prepared by thoughtful Targum-trescij. Now it is the custom among both Thibettans and Tartars that drinking must continue until the jars are empty and no more is served. When the Thibettans saw that *aracca* had taken effect on the Giongars, they, by Targum-trescij's orders, suggested to the officers that it would be well to observe the custom of laying aside all arms during a drinking bout, for mirth might easily turn into strife with lamentable results. As hosts they would set the example and lay down their weapons. The Giongars were too drunk to be suspicious, gave up their arms and continued merrily to drink until they were either wrapped in profound slumber or too intoxicated to stand on their feet. Targum-trescij now came forward, commanded his men to kill the Giongars with their own weapons and not to allow one to escape to bear the news to Upper Tartary. The immense treasure was kept at Cartoa until the Chinese had, as he hoped, taken Thibet, when he would send it back to Lhasá to be presented to them as a thank-offering for revenging the deaths of King Cinghes-Khang and his family.

CHAPTER XII

How the Kingdom of Thibet passed from the Tartar to the Chinese Dominion.

(*MS. A, pp.* 53–60; *Fl. MS. f°* 76–80.)

THE Emperor of China had grave reasons for anger. First the attempted invasion of his Empire by way

of Sciling, without any provocation or reason as I have said above, and secondly the treacherous seizure of the Kingdom of Thibet and the murder of King Cinghes-Khang, his friend and near relation. But wishing first to try peaceful means and if possible spare the lives of his own soldiers and of the unhappy Thibettans, he sent ambassadors to general Gĕ-ring-ton-drup to invite him to give up the throne he had so unjustly seized or to prepare for being ignominiously ousted. Made insolent by success, the general answered that by force he had seized Thibet and by force he meant not only to keep it, but eventually to conquer other Kingdoms. The Emperor of China at once [in 1719] sent a strong force from Sciling and the adjacent provinces against Thibet, composed entirely of Chinese, partly pagans, partly Muhammedans, but without any of his best troops, who are all Tartars. Two roads lead from China to Lhasá, capital of Third Thibet, or Butant. The shortest, which takes about three months, from Sciling across an arid desert to the West, debouches to the North of Lhasá. The other is longer and takes more than three months. From Sciling it turns to the South through the province of Tazento [Takienlu] in the kingdom of Kham, which is incorporated with Thibet; from thence, bearing to the West, it traverses other provinces of Thibet and finally reaches Lhasá. Although longer, this is by far the easiest route, as the country is inhabited. The officers in command of the Chinese army, nearly all Muhammedans, feared to be attacked on this road, and chose the first. Owing to the number of troops, the utter solitude, and the length of the journey, provisions had begun to run short before they arrived at Dam to the North of Lhasá, but there they were able to requisition supplies. Choosing a suitable place, they enclosed a considerable extent of land with a stone wall as a protection against

the enemy, and this proved to be their undoing. The Giongars summoned soldiers from every part of Thibet and after several unimportant skirmishes drove the Chinese back into their enclosed camp and surrounded it on all sides, allowing no provisions to enter. After eating all the animals, the wretched Chinese were forced by hunger to feed upon the bodies of their companions who had died of starvation. Driven by such extreme misery they sent some Thibettan Lamàs to beg the Giongars to allow them to come out of their camp and return quietly to their own country. To this the Giongars consented on condition that the Chinese laid down their weapons. As the miserable creatures left the camp without arms and too weak to save themselves by flight, they were massacred by the treacherous enemy.

The Emperor of China, exasperated by this second act of abominable cruelty, ordered an innumerable number of men to be summoned, among them many Tartars, from the outlying provinces of the empire as well as from Pekin, and commanded the various Kinglets of Lower Tartary, his dependents and feudatories, to send strong reinforcements. Only he who knows the immense riches of the Emperor of China can at all realize the quantity of arms, ammunition, instruments of war and animals provided for this huge army. I only will give one instance; to every officer and soldier five years of pay was granted and immediately given. Though I fear that the reader will disbelieve me, I affirm that I do not exaggerate and that what I relate I saw with my own eyes. Shortly after the Chinese entered Thibet for the second time, the whole vast kingdom was flooded with silver, which so diminished in value that reiterated edicts and severe punishments were necessary to force the people to accept it as payment. I must explain that the Chinese had no coinage, but simply large or small pieces of silver. Exposed

to some risk, to expense, and to the long journey, the Thibettans sent this silver from Lhasá to Nepal to change into the money of the three petty Kings who ruled that kingdom. They charged nothing, but gave an equal weight in coins for the silver and gained many millions, especially the King of Kattmandú.[45]

The Emperor of China showed his sagacity by the steps he took to gain the affections of the Thibettans and to alienate them from the Giongars. As I have said before, news had spread all over Thibet that the Grand Lamà, killed by King Cinghes-Khang, had been born again near Sciling in China. These credulous and superstitious people had tried in vain by supplications and every sort of intrigue to obtain the boy's release from the fortress in which he was well guarded by the Emperor's orders. Now he released the young impostor and sent him to Thibet with his second army. Proclamations were addressed to monks, governors, and people saying if they wished to fight him they were to join with the treacherous Giongars, but if in this youth they recognized their venerated Grand Lamà,[46] they must obey all the commands of the leaders of this army.

Slowly and in good order the Chinese advanced, not by the road across the desert but by the more inhabited one, and from all parts the people assembled to acclaim the Grand Lamà and hear the orders given by the representatives of the Emperor of China. These orders were that all men, even the aged and infirm, from the age of twelve upwards should be armed, enrolled and employed, and they were obeyed. Nay more, against Thibettan custom, monks were also called up, as will be seen by what happened to me. At that time I was in a place called Trong-gnêe, in the province of Takpó-Khier, and for safety had taken refuge in the Governor's palace. Although a monk, he had been called up and was with the army

a long way off, having left a vice-governor. After sundown on the evening of the twenty-eighth of September, 1720, I received an order from the general in command of the troops in that province to go next day armed, and with a horse, a baggage mule, and two armed serving-men on foot to the camp, under pain of death if I disobeyed. My character as a Lamà was of no avail as several Lamàs of Thibet had been forced to obey. My surprise at so peremptory a command can easily be imagined. Seeing my dismay the good vice-governor who was old and much respected, and a distant relation of the said general, consoled me with the hope that he might be able to induce him to cancel his order. After eating he started, and next morning on reaching the general's tent, spoke so efficaciously in my favour that a counter-order was sent to me with excuses and many compliments.

Now although all the Thibettans had been armed, only a chosen few had been incorporated in the Chinese army, the rest were dispatched to guard the frontiers of Thibet and of the different provinces and close all the roads, even those over the mountains. This was done to prevent the Giongars and their fellow-conspirators from taking flight. What ardour does desperation inspire in men! What courage the dread of failure!

One would think that abandoned by the Thibettans, threatened by a formidable army and weakened by former losses, the Giongars, now reduced to about four thousand men and with no hope of receiving reinforcements, would have laid down their arms. On the contrary, under cover of a dark night they fell on the Chinese and killed some thousands. Made more arrogant and bloodthirsty by this success they repeated the attack on the following night with the same result. Having discovered where the Grand Lamà was, surrounded by a large force of Tartars and the principal officers, they made violent attempts

to break through the ranks of the terrified Chinese, killing them without mercy.

The Chinese idea in forming such enormous armies, composed in great measure of old or worn out men, who certainly appear to be a hindrance rather than a help, is that China is so densely populated that she cares little for the loss of thousands of men, while the enemy exhausts himself thoroughly by slaughtering, when the vigorous and trusty men advance and gain a victory.

And this it was that now happened. On the fourth night the Chinese did not wait for the Giongars to attack. As evening closed in lights and fires illuminated their tents and pavilions to show they were being guarded, while in truth they were almost denuded of troops. Meanwhile the Tartars of China and of Lower Tartary under cover of night had been formed into three detachments. The first remained to guard the Grand Lamà ; the second took up a position, after the Chinese had all been withdrawn, facing the enemy ; the third marched out in silence and by a circuitous route got to their rear. At a given signal these two divisions attacked the Giongars, who soon became aware of the difference between these troops and their former antagonists. After heavy fighting the Giongars were defeated and that insolent usurper general Gĕ-ring-ton-drup fled with but few followers towards the great western desert. He did not dare take the road leading to Cartôa, where he knew the viceroy Targum Trescij was in command, but turning to the North he attempted to cross the arid impracticable mountains, where they say he died of hunger and despair.

After nigh twenty years of tumult and disaster this Third Great Thibet, or Butant, was thus subjugated by the emperor of China in October, 1720, and here his descendants will probably continue to reign for many centuries.

From this point to the end of the chapter, the text is missing in MS. A, and is translated from the Florence MS.

I do not intend to write a long or minute history, and therefore shall not describe the rapturous reception by these superstitious people of the Grand Lamà installed on the throne of Potalà in Lhasà, or the excellent discipline of the great Chinese army. I must, however, observe that the wise Emperor of China really undertook the conquest of Thibet to avenge the deaths of King Cinghes-Khang and his family.

As I have already said, the City of Lhasà was taken by the Giongars owing to the treachery of a certain number of laymen and Lamàs who let down ladders and opened the city gates to them. I also described the abominable treachery of the Debá Tâzê who delivered those three heroes, King Cinghes-Khang's second son, the viceroy Targum-Trescij and general Ton-drup-çe-ring, into the hands of the Giongars. They recompensed everybody, especially the Debá Tâzê, who was named Tissì [Tisri], or King of the Thibettans, but subordinate to the usurper of that kingdom. Finally I said that the Chinese commanders had despatched the Thibettan contingents to guard the frontiers. These they did not recall until they had seized all the traitors in the city, in order that none might escape and find safety in flight. By the written order of the Emperor of China which the general had brought with him, these infamous traitors were condemned to a public and ignominious death. Many were the supplications for mercy, but all were sternly refused, and even the Grand Lamà was warned not to interfere in such matters. Bare-foot and bare-headed, with hands bound, surrounded by Chinese and Tartar guards fully armed, these miserable traitors were led round the magnificent temple of the idols, called Lha-brang,

or Palace of the Gods, and then through the principal streets to the place of execution. The deposed Lamà was beheaded ; the Debà Tâzê and the others were tied to a certain instrument of torture, tortured and then shot at with arrows until they were dead. Thus perished those iniquitous traitors.

CHAPTER XIII

About the Civil Government of Thibet.

(*MS. A, pp.* 60–68 ; *Fl. MS. f°* 90–93 *and* 121.)

UNTIL 1720 this Kingdom was governed by an absolute and independent King (*under the sovereignty of the Dalai Lama*). In October, 1720, it passed under the rule of the Emperor of China and is now governed (*by a King, Tisri Telchin Bathur, and*) by ministers who represent him : some are Chinese Tartars, others pure Chinese, and a few are Thibettans. All edicts and verdicts are now written in three languages : Tartar, Chinese and Thibettan. After the ministers rank the four Kaa-Lung-sciá [Ka-lon], superintendents of public justice in civil and in criminal suits. Their tribunal is in the Lha-brang, which I have described when speaking of Lhasa. Their duties are to sit daily in this tribunal, give public audiences to all, to listen and decide on cases and give orders and sentences on minor things. All more important matters used to be referred to the King, but now are referred to the aforesaid ministers, who decide them. There are other inferior Kaa-Lung-sciá who aid their superiors by obtaining information, instituting legal processes, and such like things. The King once gave, but now the ministers of the emperor of China give daily audiences, or at least receive petitions and appeals, which they often settle at once. Every province has a principal

governor called Debà, who depends solely from the King and has other ministers under him, partly elected by the King, partly by the Debà, and some vice-governors who can settle small matters; all more important business must, however, go before the Debà. He generally remains in office for life and is succeeded by his son. These governors have full powers in their provinces, they can even sentence malefactors to death. They collect the taxes and tributes which must all be registered and in due time sent to the royal exchequer, and every year at Davà Tang-bò [Da-wa dang-po], or the first new moon, when the Lo-sar or celebration of the new year takes place, they must go to the capital and present their tribute to the King. Other Debà, who are not governors, but lords of territory held in fee from the king, must do likewise, and at the same time the King of Bree-mè-jong is obliged to send a deputation to Lhasá to the King with his tribute.

Justice is well and carefully administered in Thibet. To discourage litigation, both parties have first to pay a certain sum, more or less large according to the amount involved in the lawsuit; small disputes are therefore generally settled between the litigants themselves, or by some one in authority, without applying to the public tribunal. Every suit is minutely and attentively examined without loss of time. The oath occasionally administered to a culprit is barbarous and unreasonable; and is employed not only in Thibet but in Nepal and other parts of India. One way is to put two stones, white and black, into a vase full of boiling oil, the accused is told to take out one of the stones, and that he will be considered innocent if he extracts the white one without burning his hand. Another is to make an iron red hot and command him to lick it thrice; if his tongue is not burned he is declared innocent. The third way is to take him to the top of a certain mountain and

make him swear by the tutelary Genii of the place, or Lha, and pray them to punish him and his family if he has lied. Capital punishment is administered in various ways according to the quality of the person and the gravity of the crime. Some are beheaded, others drowned in the river, others again tied to the gallows and shot at with arrows until dead. The gallows, called Chiang-sing, is always standing ready in Thibet; it is shaped like a St. Andrew's cross, with the addition of a beam placed across the top of the cross, and one on either side. The culprit is tied hands and feet to the cross, and shot at with arrows from time to time, until death follows. Robbery, when associated with murder (which is extremely rare), is punished by the latter death. A common thief is condemned to give back what he has stolen and be well bastinadoed in public, but if the theft is considerable he is condemned to lose his hand or to be branded on the forehead and exiled. Anyone having any knowledge of a serious crime who does not denounce the author is liable to have his mouth slit open on either side. Not only killing and wounding, but rioting or even threatening people is criminal and severely punished. Therefore murder is almost unknown in Thibet, treacherously wounding very rare, and riots seldom occur. Robbery is also by no means frequent. Divine Providence has ordained that the Thibettans should have a holy terror of justice, thus nullifying the ferocity such a rugged harsh country might instil into its inhabitants. Fornication among laymen is not considered a crime, but if there are children, the man is obliged to provide food, clothes and all necessary things, while the child remains with the mother. Adultery is most severely punished; so is the coining of false money, which is rare. On New Year's day, and a few other festivals, it is customary in Lhasá to set free a few prisoners.

All land belongs absolutely to the King, who grants the temporary use to whom he pleases. Every estate, castle, and village has its prescribed amount of land which cannot be exceeded, and the fields and cultivated land assigned to the inhabitants are divided between the different families. Pasture and wood, situated within these limits, are free to all. They have to pay taxes to the King either in money, supplies, or animals, for fruit, crops, and use of the pasture and wood. In addition these families are obliged to go to Ullà [U-lag] whenever ordered. Going to Ullà means going in person, or providing a substitute, or pack-animals, or performing some other service for the King, or for any person having his Kaa-scioà or written order bearing his great seal. Families residing in these villages who have no land but enjoy the right of pasture and wood, are only called upon to do work for the King once a year ; those who own no house and have no land, foreigners for instance, are exempt from any kind of service. Anyone can hunt musk deer and take the musk, or dig for gold after obtaining permission from the governor of the place and paying him a small sum.

Thibet is a peaceful country, not subject to revolution and seldom exposed to wars with her neighbours, so there is no standing army ; only a sufficient number of soldiers to afford a guard for the King. If there is war every family must furnish a soldier, or provide a substitute. The soldiers receive no pay from the King, nor does he furnish them with arms, ammunition, horses or food ; this is all contributed by the communities or the provinces. Although they have no military drill or instruction they make good soldiers, being strong and courageous, used to discomfort and hard work, and by nature docile and respectful, so they are easily led. In time of peace their games are archery and shooting at a target with muskets ; so under a good leader they

do quite well. Their arms are small cannon, swords, lances and arrows, and they have some iron cannon mounted on carts with large wheels. They also have blunderbusses. Even had they no arms or ammunition it would be easy for them in these mountains to occupy some commanding position and inflict great loss on the enemy by hurling stones. Besides the above-mentioned fortresses of Lhasá and Jegaçé there are many others situated high up on these rugged mountains and almost impregnable. A regiment of soldiers is kept permanently at Cartôa and at Ngnari Giongar against incursions of Tartars from Giongar Yul or Independent Tartary. Monks are exempt from taxes and military service, but if there is real danger they too are armed and have to join the army, as happend when, as I have related above, the Giongars were driven out.[47]

The Thibettans, like the Tartars, are by nature kindly and courteous; they like foreigners and, partly from policy, are obliging and respectful. After paying duty at the frontier, merchants can buy or sell, go where they like and stay as long as they please in the country. Foreigners are not often permitted to be householders (especially in Lhasá) but they can hire houses and apartments. Special permission was, however, given to European Missionaries to buy houses. Thus the Viceroy and the King Cinghes-Khang allowed me to buy a large house in a good situation near the great square, and close to the famous street of Khorà, and by virtue of the Kaa-scioà of the present Grand Lamà the Reverend Capuchin fathers were able to purchase some land to the North-East of Lhasá and build their hospice. The Apostolic Missionaries are also not only allowed to have a chapel and to celebrate Mass, but the Thibettans beg to be permitted to visit the chapel, when they prostrate themselves with great devotion and ask to have each image

explained, often kissing it and placing it on their heads with great reverence. Many a time when telling them what the image of the Crucifix meant they would prostrate themselves, beat their breasts and beg to hold it in their hands, when they would kiss it and shed many tears on hearing that Jesus Christ had so suffered for the redemption of their souls. I was often persuaded by their persistent prayers to allow them to attend the Holy Sacrifice of Mass, and it was touching to see how they kneeled down with hands clasped in prayer and listened devoutly. Sometimes they brought incense and begged that it might be burnt in the chapel. Not only was this permitted in our own houses, but even when I was in the great monastery and university of Será, many monks, doctors and influential persons came into my chapel. This was very much owing to the esteem in which they held European Missionaries. They look upon them as Lamàs, that is to say not only monks who have renounced the world and doctors who have studied science, but as masters and spiritual directors who have dedicated themselves to this ministry and to all the hardships it entails solely in order to save others from error and evil ways and lead them to eternal felicity. These are the three essentials which, according to the Thibettans, constitute a real Lamà.

In Second Thibet, or Lhatà-yul, Muhammadans are allowed to have mosques and conduct prayers in them according to their sect. But this is not the case in Third Thibet. They once had a place of burial near Lhasá, this was destroyed and they were ordered to make a new one farther away from the town. Although because they are foreigners they are not molested, they are called Mutekbà, or infidels, and are considered low, vile, and despicable people, not so much on account of their lies and incontinence, as because they kill animals with their own hands,

a thing looked upon as infamous in these countries and only done by the Scembà or public executioner.

The Thibettans are not, like other Asiatics, divided by any feeling of caste, but will deal, eat, and sit with other natives of Thibet, or pagans of other sects, or with people of other religions or countries. This removes the great obstacle to the propaganda of the Christian faith existing in India, where men of the same country will not consort together, indeed loathe each other. The only persons the Thibettans abhor are the butchers, who are also the executioners ; they regard them as infamous and damned, do not allow them to enter their houses, to eat with them, drink from their cups, or smoke their pipes. In politics they are also tolerant. They can be divided into three classes : ministers, governors and high officials ; merchants and traders, and people with some personal income ; who all meet together frequently in a familiar manner.

CHAPTER XIV

Describing the Clothes and Food of the Thibettans.

(*MS. A, pp.* 68–77 ; *Fl. MS. f°* 121–125.)

The dress of the Thibettans is unlike that of any other nation. Laymen do not shave their heads, but take care of their hair. Their hats, shaped like a mushroom, are of yellow woollen stuff and double ; from the top hang long threads like hair over the crown. Indoors, or unless they go out on special business, or pay visits, they wear a cap resembling the crown of our hats, of the same yellow stuff, but with a lappet on either side and one behind, which they generally turn up, and only let down to shield their ears and neck when the weather is cold. Sometimes they wear the Tartar headgear, a cap

of yellow damask surrounded by a band of fine fur about four fingers wide ; on the top of the cap are a quantity of long red silk threads twisted into a rosace. The men, especially when in full dress, wear earrings of silver or gold ornamented with coral or turquoises. Their shirts are of wool, over which they wear a wide quilted jacket reaching below the knee, with tight sleeves rolled back over the wrist ; and it is not buttoned according to European fashion, but overlaps, and is fastened by a girdle. Jackets and overcoats are made of fine wool woven in such manner as to be covered with tiny curls. Some men wear white cloth, others coloured, others again flowered or striped in various colours. The trousers are of good red cloth of medium thickness with a broad waistband round the stomach and sides, and they reach down to the heels. They are not sewn together on the sides like ours, but are wrapped round the calf and tied with a string below the knee. They have no stockings and their boots are like those worn by the monks and nuns. Some have Tartar boots in shape somewhat resembling ours and made of Muscovy leather. Nearly all wear round their neck a rosary made of a certain yellow wood which comes from China. From one shoulder a sash about two fingers wide crosses the chest, and from it hangs a square reliquary of red copper ornamented with sprigs of yellow brass in which they keep relics, gold or silver money, writing paper and sundries. From the girdle hang various objects, a small copper inkstand in a gilt leather case, a cylindrical steel box sometimes burnished to a violet colour and decorated with small silver leaves, in which they keep pens, not such as we use, but made of rather thick stems of bamboo. There is also a Thibettan knife, very sharp, in a sheath and a bag of gilt leather containing more writing paper, thread, needles, and such-like things, and another bag with a flint, steel and tinder.

Many have also an awl for mending boots or the harness of horses or mules, and a sharp curved spike for undoing knots.

The dress of the women is modest and decent. Their hats, of very light thin wood, are varnished inside and covered outside with beads arranged in pretty patterns, on the top is a gold ornament in which are set a few coloured stones. They wear earrings of coral, pearls or small coloured stones, several necklaces, and the usual rosary of yellow Chinese wood for reciting prayers, and others of coral, of very large and heavy yellow amber beads, or of pearls or coloured stones. Old women no longer wear a hat with golden ornaments but above their brows a kind of oval gold frame (*like a tiara*) enclosing a plate ornamented with emeralds, lapislazuli or turquoises. Their woollen petticoat is of two colours, black and red, with many pleats, attached to a sleeveless shirt over which is worn a jacket with sleeves either of wool or of silk variously ornamented. A cloak of red cloth covers them from the shoulders nearly to the knees. They have thick woollen trousers and boots such as are worn by the men.[48]

Like other Orientals the Thibettans sit cross-legged; on the ground they put a *den*, a mattress made of many layers of woollen felt covered with fine cloth of divers colours, or of Chinese cotton of various colours, or Chinese damask or brocade, according to the wealth of the owner. These said *den* serve also as beds, the coverlets are of fur and of wool with thick long filaments on the inside which keep the body very warm. Others stuff the mattresses with hair of the yak or of the zomò, the mountain ox or cow which I have already described.[49]

They have no superstitions about food; a Thibettan may eat anything, prepared by anyone and in any company, and has no prejudices about ablutions like most of the pagans of Asia.

They, however, out of pity refrain from eating young animals such as lambs, kids, young calves, chickens or small birds. They eat much meat, beef, mutton, goat, which is fat, tender and of delicious flavour, pigs, musk deer, and some large birds excellent to eat, fish, eggs, rice and vegetables, such as turnips, peas and a few others, fruit, milk, butter and cheese. They do not eat wheaten bread, but *zambà* [tsampa], which is the flour of ground parched barley mixed with a little water, generally hot, into very small balls which they eat with their meat. On journeys many Thibettans eat raw dried meat.[50] They are fond of sweets made with wheaten flour, sugar and butter, or with apples and butter, and at lunch, dinner and supper eat *thukpa* [thugpa], a kind of soup with small bits of meat in it, or butter and rice and various kinds of spice, or meat, butter and wheaten flour, or other things. The poor make their soup of water, butter and barley flour. All drink *cià*, let us call it tea, many times a day. This is not made in the European or Chinese fashion ; but into a large earthen pot (in the monasteries and convents a huge brass cauldron is used) they put the proper amount of tea with a little water and some *putoà*, which, as I have said before, is a white powder of salt earth, and imparts no taste to the tea, but colours it red like good red wine. The tea is boiled until the water is somewhat reduced, when it is beaten up with a whisk as we do chocolate for a long while until covered with froth. It is then strained, more water is added and it is put on the fire again until it boils. Fresh milk is then poured in and good yellow butter with a little salt is added. The *cià* is put into another clean receptacle, again whipped up and then decanted into a wooden teapot ornamented with sprigs of copper and brass, and every one has three or four cups. A little is left in the last cup and then generally a few bits of melted butter are put in with a little

sugar and some *ciurà* [chura], which is like grated cheese, and a little barley flour. These are kneaded together and either eaten or given to some animal. It really serves to clean and dry the cups. *Cià* thus prepared is drunk nearly all day long and is always served to visitors.[51]

Although, as I have said, there are grapes in some parts of Thibet, the people never make wine, but drink a kind of beer called *ciang*. This is made of parched barley put into a large cauldron with water and boiled until the water has evaporated. In Lhasá they generally omit parching the barley. When, as I have said, the water has evaporated, the barley is spread out on cloths and a kind of yeast in small balls is crushed into powder and sprinkled over it. The whole is then mixed together, made into a heap, covered over with cloths and blankets and left until fermentation begins. The barley is then put into large earthen jars, the mouth being well closed so that no air can get in, and they are covered with skins and rugs and left for ten, twelve, or fifteen days. This second fermentation extracts the essence of the barley in the shape of a clear yellow oil. To drink this decoction would at once cause drunkenness, so some is drawn off, the same quantity of water is added and the jars are again sealed to allow of further fermentation. Finally a quantity of this *ciang* is put into other jars, and more water is poured in.[52] This is the common beverage of the Thibettans, who never drink water, because in this country it is ice-cold and bad for the health. Even in the beer and the *cià* they put red-hot pieces of iron or stones to take off the chill. Boys and girls are not allowed to drink the first or the second infusion of *ciang*, only the third which is like turbid water. Even married women only drink this kind in very small cups, and it is considered improper and shameful for a woman to drink the good *ciang*, and horrible

if she becomes intoxicated. Men drink much and often get drunk. It is true the intoxication caused by *ciang* is never furious, but shows itself in singing or sleeping. On the occasion of a marriage, a festival, departure for, or arrival from, a journey, a great quantity of *ciang* is prepared; friends and relations are invited and spend several days in drinking, eating, dancing, and playing games, until the *ciang* is finished. To all religious, especially to the Lamàs and Khelong [Gelong], *ciang* is forbidden, but because of the unwholesomeness of the water they drink it sparingly in secret, and weak; if offered to them when paying a visit they accept very little. The married Lamàs may, however, drink it freely. Rice or wheat is occasionally used to make *ciang*. The barley left in the jars is kept for fattening fowls, pigs, or cows. *Aracca* is sometimes indulged in by laymen; this is distilled without the addition of any water and then put into a still and boiled twice. Before eating or drinking *cià* or *ciang* the Thibettans always make a small offering to their idols, either by sprinkling them, putting a little into a vase in front of the image, or placing it near by as though it was a gift. When they offer *cià* or *ciang* to any important visitors or to the chief priests during a service, they put three or four tiny bits of butter on the rim of the cup to do honour to the guest, whose cup is of Chinese porcelain, or of fine veined wood of good colour. But generally everyone brings his own wooden cup. On the table are only cups and plates, no forks are used by the Thibettans who are only half civilized, and like most Orientals eat with their fingers.[53] Wood is used by some for cooking and heating, but as trees are scarce in Thibet the dried dung of cows, sheep, and horses is the usual fuel. In some poor districts large square sods of earth with rough short grass are cut about two fingers thick, and, when dry, set upright round the hearth where they burn

slowly, give out much heat and dissolve into fine ashes. In places where oil is scarce instead of lamps the people use sprigs of pine wood, which burn well, being full of turpentine. I have seen this done also in parts of Nepal.

CHAPTER XV

Concerning the Letters and Alphabet of the Thibettan Language, and the Proficiency of the Thibettans in Learning and the Arts.

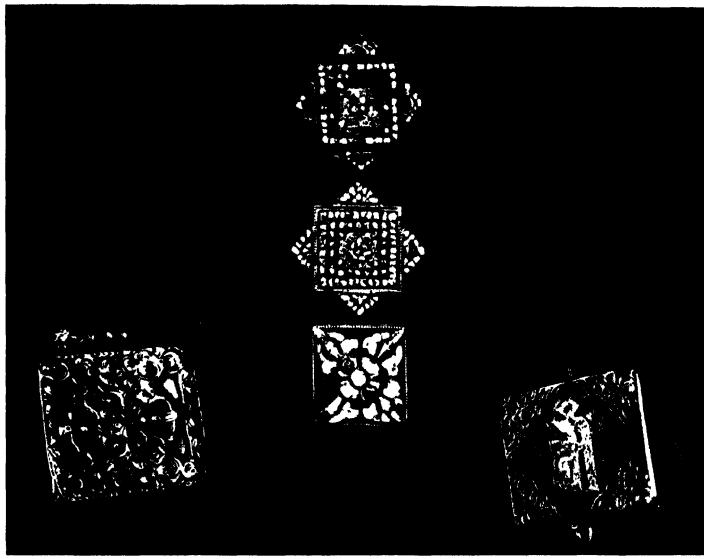
(*MS. A, pp.* 77–83; *Fl. MS. f°* 125.)

THIBETTANS have a vivacious intellect and are ingenious and clever. Their peculiar language has no connection or affinity with any other, and it is made of words generally monosyllabic or dissyllabic. They are acquainted not only with writing, but with printing, though their method is very different from ours; they prepare a number of wood-blocks, one for each page of the book, in which they cut out the letters, and print from them. The letters used for printing are very different in design from those employed in handwriting; and the latter also differ in manuscript books, and in letters or memoranda, which are scribbled in a cursive script. All printed books, or written with the printing script, deal with religion or history of religion.

The alphabet consists of thirty letters. The vowels *e*, *i*, *o*, *u* are not individually represented, but are expressed by signs placed above or below the consonants. On another hand, the alphabet contains one sign for the vowel *a* and one for the double *a*.

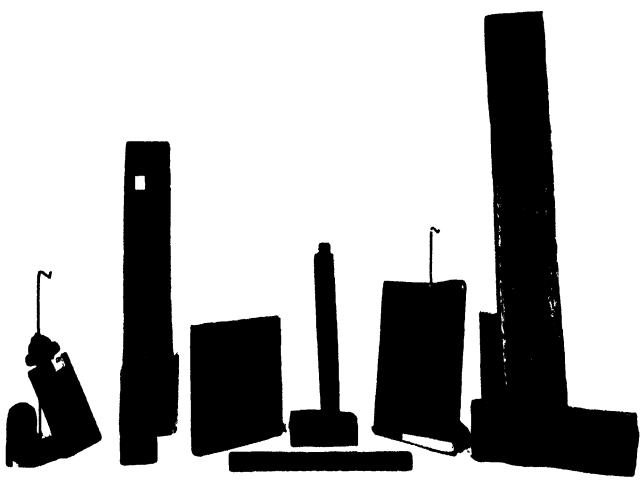
F and *x* do not exist in the Thibettan alphabet; the sounds of *b*, *d*, *g*, *z* are expressed by the combination of other letters. For instance, by putting the letter *aa* before the letter *paa*, the latter becomes *baa*, which is *b*, and so on. The letter *z* is expressed

PLATE VII



VARIOUS FORMS OF KAHU, OR CHARM BOXES, IN COPPER, BRASS AND SILVER, AND INSET TURQUOISES

(*De Filippi Collection*)



WOODEN PRINTING BLOCKS, AND BLOCKS TO STAMP DOUGH INTENDED FOR OFFERINGS

(*De Filippi Collection*)

[*face p* 184

by three different combinations, corresponding to three different pronunciations.

Thibettan orthography is in some ways less complete, in others more complete than ours. It is far more difficult to learn, demanding an accurate knowledge of correctly written books, because in addition to the letters which are pronounced, they write several more prefixed or affixed, or placed above or below the others, which are not spoken. On account of the peculiarities of the written language, of the letters placed above or below the others, up to five in number, it cannot be printed like ours, by movable types, but only as described above by blocks with the various letters and symbols carved in the wood.

On another hand, Thibettan orthography is in some regards more complete than ours, because according to the different accent and emphasis with which the four vowels *e*, *i*, *o*, *u* are pronounced, sometimes open and broad, sometimes closed and protracted, or soft and subdued, they express the intonation in writing by adding various letters after the vowel's sign.[54]

I must be content with these few items, because it is not my purpose to expound here the Thibettan grammar. I shall only mention the great difficulty for a stranger to read their books and to master their language before having got used to it through long practice. It is so constructed that the genitive goes before the nominative which governs it, and both always precede their articles, and there are many other inversions, so that one has to read the whole period to understand it, and sometimes re-read it from bottom to top in order to get its construction clear. Similarly, in scholastic matters, disputations and arguments they antepone the consequence and postpone the antecedent. There is a peculiar gesture always made during disputations by the proposer

of the argument, which amuses the audience and captivates the attention, while it excites the defendant to a good reply. As soon as the disputant has expounded his argument he rapidly straightens the five fingers of his right hand and with them strikes the palm of his left close to the defendant's face, saying : *Rorró ché*, words which have no meaning, but said with emphasis are as good as to say : " Now reply if you can ! " This gesture is always used when arguing in company, or in a public disputation.

By nature the Thibettans are seldom idle or lazy but generally occupied with something. Indeed one may say they are more or less skilled in all things necessary for every-day life ; such as spinning, weaving, sewing, making ropes, curing hides, mending boots, doing carpentry, building, making paper or powder, cooking, working on the land and tending animals, making butter and cheese, in short they can do nearly everything needful for a family or a house. This is why you so rarely find in Thibet a workman who makes a speciality of any one craft, with the exception of painting, carving and casting. Their painting and carving is not very remarkable, but in casting of statues and vases and of gun-barrels they have few equals. The Nepalese are masters in these crafts, by which they make a very good business in Thibet. Medicine is the only profession which has qualified members, and in Thibet they are many and excellent. It is not their custom to ask the patient how he is or what is his pain, but they feel first one pulse, then the other, then both together, and then say what ails the sick man. They have not many drugs, but good medicinal herbs, either indigenous or brought from China, the Lhobà country, which I have already mentioned, Nepal or Hindustan, or shall we say Mogol. These are generally given in pills or in powders, and often effect cures. The professors are well paid and

generally stipulate what their fee is to be before undertaking a cure.[55] The Reverend Capuchin Fathers, from the beginning of their mission, have with great charity given medicine to sick people and have cured many without asking for any money, only accepting any present which is offered. In this way they have baptized and sent many children to Heaven.

CHAPTER XVI

Of the physical Characteristics of the Thibettans, their Occupations and Games, and how they cultivate the Soil.

(*MS. A, pp.* 83–90; *Fl. MS. f°* 125–128.)

THE Thibettans are of medium height, of fair complexion, not without an olive hue. They are rather well built and bare of face, for their beards do not grow. Their memory is good and they are clever, kindly and courteous by nature, good craftsmen, active and extremely industrious. Owing to the good and salubrious climate there is not much illness, save in big towns like Lhasá and Giegazzé where licence breeds venereal diseases. They have a remedy for it which cures quickly, but not permanently, and must be repeated often. Every ten or twelve years an epidemic of smallpox carries off many people. It is so deadly because anyone showing symptoms of the malady is driven out of his house into the country, where, under a tent, exposed to the bitter cold and the bad weather he is shunned by all save perhaps some relation who has had smallpox. Once the epidemic is over for years there are no more cases.[56]

At the commencement of any illness these people send to consult a Cioo-Kiong [Chŏ-kyong] (further on I shall say what a Cioo-Kiong is) or a Lamà as to what doctor they should call in, and what they are to do, and

they generally obey what the oracle says. During the illness a number of monks are summoned to make Korì [Kurim] for the invalid. The Korì is as follows. Many monks come to the house, make sacrifices, sing prayers accompanied by several instruments and for the rest of the day read aloud from some of their books, which I have already said are called Kaa-nghiur. These Korì last for one or more days, and each monk receives daily pay according to his rank, abundant and excellent food, and a good present at the end of the Korì. Alms are sent to one or more monasteries, according to the wealth of the family, in order that the Lamà and the religious may also make a Korì for the sick person. Also his relations and friends make sacrifices, visit the temples or perform the Khorà, that is, walk round a temple as I described when mentioning the Lhà-Brang at Lhasá, or do Khorà round some Manì or Cioo-den (what these are I shall say further on).[57] When the patient is cured more Korím and sacrifices are made as a thanksgiving, and friends and relations are invited to spend one or two days in festivities as a sign of joy and to show gratitude for the visits made during the illness. If the sick man dies Korím and sacrifices are made and alms are given to the Lamà, the monks and to the poor, and large offerings are made to some temple for the benefit of the soul of the deceased. Relations and friends come to condole and pass several days with the family, but quietly and without any festivities.

When the public health is good the Thibettans, being as I have said very active, work at home, or trade, cultivate the land, or go and search for gold; they are also often summoned to work for the King, governor, or Lamà, or the monastery in their parish. When not engaged on some work they play games, but not for money which is not their custom; he who loses sends for *ciang* and they all drink together.

Their games are archery, or shooting at a target with a musket, at both they are exceedingly expert. At other times they play with heavy stones as we do in Europe with quoits. I do not know of any other games in Thibet, and these are only indulged in for exercise. At a festival or a marriage they amuse themselves without rowdiness with singing and dancing, but not otherwise.[58]

These people smoke a great deal, using pipes made of iron or brass, or of a certain Chinese metal called *pitung*. Their tobacco comes from China, not in leaves or ropes, but cut very small and of a yellow colour ; two qualities are sent in square packets of two sizes wrapped in thick cardboard. Laymen and women nearly all smoke, but not the monks, or if they do, only privately. The use of tobacco is absolutely forbidden to the Lamàs, the Kelong, and the young religious.[59]

Agriculture is the chief occupation of the Thibettans ; the earth is so arid and sterile that it only becomes productive after great labour and much sweat. The principal work is collecting and storing water which comes from the mountains, and at certain times of the year serves to irrigate the fields. The people cannot use the water as they choose, it is brought down by winding channels, first to one village or community and then to another, and people are only allowed enough for their daily use. For a certain number of hours the outlet of the big pond in which the water is collected is opened for each family to irrigate their fields ; it is then closed and opened for another family who guide the water on to their land, and so on till all are served. They weed their fields often, using a small hoe, manure the soil and scatter it with ashes. Work in the fields near Lhasá begins at the end of April, or the beginning of May, and the harvest is gathered in towards the end of October or beginning of

November. In other months they sow *til*,[60] from which oil is extracted, or turnips, radishes, peas, and similar vegetables. In some provinces barley and wheat is sown in the middle of October and harvested in July. From July until October the people are busy sowing, irrigating, and getting in their crops of radishes, turnips and *til*, so one can say they are continually at work in the fields. Turnips are sown in large quantities and given to the oxen and cows. Both mountain and domestic oxen (*yaks and zhos*) are used for ploughing, and at harvest time, relations from other places, where the grain is backward, come to help, a service which is returned later.[61] In some parts animals are used to tread out the barley and wheat, in others it is threshed by men with two sticks tied together, one being flat. A great deal of this labour is done by women, who work very hard in Thibet, and have little respite from toil. Men, women, boys and girls go to the mountains assigned to their village or community to cut and carry home wood, or to search for the dried dung of cattle to burn. I say, "mountains assigned to their villages," because within certain limits the inhabitants of each village are allowed to cut wood, if they go beyond they are punished. The same with the pasturage. If an animal (which often happens) strays into a neighbour's field, he can catch, mark the beast, and complain to the governor, who punishes the owner and orders him to make good the damage. These villagers keep many animals, such as fowls, pigs, sheep, goats, and mountain and domestic cattle, donkeys, mules and horses, which are well fed and cared for. There are two reasons for this, first the profit they make out of them, secondly the compassion they feel for all animals, as I shall describe later.

Besides being fond of work the Thibettans are by nature kindly, virtuous and devout. This is

demonstrated in various ways. To begin with they are not only well grounded in their belief, but they speak about it often with great affection and conscientiousness. Secondly, they have the greatest esteem, veneration and respect for their Lamàs and monks ; would to God that the Christian Catholics showed one-hundredth part of such sentiments to the Prelates, Ecclesiastics and Religious of our holy Catholic Church ! Thirdly, they are most diligent in learning long prayers by heart, and never neglect to pray in the morning when they rise, or at night when they go to bed. Fourthly, they are much given to reading and listening to religious and moral books. Fifthly, they are most attentive in doing Khorà in their temples, and to the Cioo-den, and their Maní, in performing Korím and making pilgrimages to holy places, and are most respectful and devout in their behaviour when they visit the temples. Sixthly, they often tell their beads, even when engaged in business, or out walking, or on journeys. Seventhly and finally (not to be prolix), they show it in the liberal alms they give to the monks, the poor, and even to animals in the streets if they think they are starving, and in the care they take to bestow the first handful of their harvests on the poor, or to make offerings to their idols ere they eat or drink themselves.[62] I confess that when I arrived in Thibet and became acquainted with this people I determined to dedicate myself, with divine help, to the success of the mission and began to study the language. By God's grace in short time I learned it so well as to astonish the doctors and Lamàs, and read a great number of their most abstruse and sophistical books. In a few years I was even able to write several books in the Thibettan language, which might have borne good fruit had I merited the good fortune to continue to serve in the mission.

CHAPTER XVII

Concerning Thibettan Weddings.

(*MS. A, pp.* 90–96; *Fl. MS. f°* 128–131.)

THE Thibettans recognize two classes of kinship. The first are called relations of the Rupá-cik, or of the same bone; the second, relations of the Scia-cik, or of the same blood. They recognize, as relations of Rupá-cik, or the same bone, those who descend from a common ancestor, however remote, even when they have been divided into different branches during many generations. Relations of the Scia-cik, or the same blood, are those created by legitimate marriages. The first, though it may be exceedingly distant, is looked upon as an absolute and inviolable bar to matrimony, and any intercourse between two relations of the Rupá-cik, or of the same bone, is regarded as incestuous, and they are shunned and loathed by everyone. The second is also a bar to marriage in the first degree of relationship; thus an uncle may not marry his niece, but marriages with a first cousin on the mother's side is allowed, and frequently occurs.[63]

Their marriage ceremonies are as follows. After a marriage has been arranged between the parents it is considered most unseemly for the two young people to speak to one another, and indecent if they slept one night under the same roof. The bridegroom knows when the wedding is to be, but not the bride, and on an appointed day some pretext is found to send her with two or three women to walk not far from where the bridegroom lives. A number of men and women then surround them and say she must go to his house. The girl tries to escape, cries, screams, kicks, and tears her hair, but is dragged or carried to the door of her future abode, where his relations and a crowd of onlookers await her.

On the threshold stands the bridegroom with the Gnàkpà [or Njnakpá ; Nag-pa] or professor of magic, who sings, screams, and recites spells for the success of the marriage and the defeat of all evil spirits. When these superstitious rites are finished the Gnàkpà leads the bride and bridegroom, followed by the whole crowd, into the house, and they sit down. He then gives a small piece of butter to the bridegroom who gets up and smears it on the head and hair of the bride. This is the last ceremony and the marriage is indissoluble. The husband's relations (the bride's family are never present), now congratulate the newly married couple, and each gives a present to the wife, the husband to his parents and his brothers, and they all sit down to a feast. Festivities continue for several days, and fifteen or twenty days later the husband and his relations solemnly accompany the young wife to her parents' house with presents. After more festivities the husband goes home and his wife remains with her parents for two years and even longer. On certain festivals and holidays she visits her husband for a few days and then returns to her own people, unless she has a child, when, after more rejoicings, she goes back to her husband for good. Her parents then bring the dowry, and the husband's parents by a formal contract give over their house and furniture, their land and animals to the young couple and the husband's brothers ; the old people reserve to themselves a little land and furniture and go to a small house near by, being thus freed from all taxes and tributes which must be paid by the young owners. But now we come to the detestable and abominable custom that, although it is the elder brother who puts the butter on the girl's head and is therefore her legal husband, he performs this rite not only for himself but for all his brothers, big or little, men or boys, and she is recognized and

regards herself as the legitimate wife of them all. Nevertheless the children are called his sons and daughters, and nephews and nieces of his brothers, although some of them are certainly not his offspring. One reason given for this most odious custom is the sterility of the soil, and the small amount of land that can be cultivated owing to the lack of water. The crops may suffice if the brothers all live together, but if they form separate families they would be reduced to beggary. Another reason, but not so cogent, is the predominance of males. A Missionary who spent several years at the Chinese court in the Emperor's service, told me there was a great wish to abolish this horrible custom in Thibet, and that they talked of sending many girls from China to increase the number of women.

As we are on the subject you must know that if a girl has an illicit relation, even should she be affianced, she is not much blamed, unless she becomes pregnant; but should a married woman commit adultery she and her accomplice are severely punished and the husband can with impunity kill her lover. At the same time the woman is the supreme master in the house, the husband depends on her, respects her, and does nothing without consulting her and being sure of her consent. As I have already said, marriage is indissoluble; yet while I was in Thibet there were some cases of husbands divorcing their wives; they appealed to the King, or took advantage of the ascendency of the Giongars. It is true they were in every case only sons, and the divorced wife married another husband. Although, as I said, the wife of the eldest brother is also the wife of all his brothers, it sometimes happens that one of them makes enough money to set up a house of his own. While I was in Lhasá an abominable case occurred in one of the principal families. A high official at the court had one son by his first wife and after her

death he married a second time. He was sent to accompany king Cinghes-Khang's heir to Upper Independent Tartary, and did not return. His son married his step-mother without a word of reproval from anyone. When I left Thibet they were still living together.[64]

CHAPTER XVIII

How the Thibettans dispose of their Dead.

(*MS. A*, pp. 96–102; *Fl. MS. f°* 131–134.)

I MUST now describe the singular funeral rites practised by the Thibettans. They never bury the dead as is the custom among Christians and Mahomedans, indeed they abhor the idea that a body should be devoured by worms and become putrid. When there is a death the relations consult the Cioo-Kiong (*Official soothsayer*) as to the funeral. If the family is rich the body is ordered to be burnt, as is the custom of the pagans of Asia (*meaning India*). This is, however, very costly in Thibet as a large number of monks must be invited who receive large donations. Or the body is carried to the top of one of the mountains they regard with veneration, and after cutting it open is left to be devoured by eagles or other beasts of prey. This is always done with the bodies of monks. People who cannot even afford the expense of such funerals are bid by the Cioo-Kiong to take the body to a place dedicated for the purpose called Tur-tro, where it is cut into small pieces and given to the dogs which congregate there in troops. The very poor throw their dead into some river to be eaten by the fish.

In "Cina Illustrata", Father Athanasius Kircher says that the Thibettans dispose thus of a corpse because they think that the body of a living animal is a

more worthy sepulchre than aught else. With all due respect to so learned an author this is not the real motive, but is one prescribed by their false religion. It must be known that in the classical and ascetic books of this sect compassion towards living creatures is extolled as the greatest of all virtues, and the giving of all worldly goods and possessions, and even, if necessary, of life itself, is considered admirable. Fabulous and innumerable examples are quoted of their legislator Scia Khia-Trubbà, of Urghien [Padma Sambhava] and of many others who, with heroic magnanimity, practised compassion and were recompensed in marvellous and splendid fashion. The supreme degree of excellence, however, is in spontaneously subjecting themselves during innumerable centuries to all the sufferings and ills of successive transmigrations in order to save others and to lead them to eternal felicity. This is not to be attained by all, but only by those who have acquired the rank of Ciangiub-sem-bá [Chang-chub-sem-pa] [Bôdhisatva] which I shall describe later. Ordinary mortals who have not arrived at such a degree of perfection as to be ready to sacrifice their living body, give their corpses to succour starving animals. This the Thibettans regard as an act of compassion and a step towards arriving, after many transmigrations, at the supreme heroism of giving their living flesh, and therefore their life, out of compassion to living creatures. This is the foundation and the real origin of this usage in Thibet.

Very different is the mode of burial of the Lamàs. Their bodies are reverently placed in handsome urns and well guarded, especially in the above-mentioned Cioo-den [Chorten]. You may object and ask how it is that Lamàs (especially those of the first class who are believed to be reincarnated by their own will) are exempt from this custom of giving their dead bodies to be eaten by starving animals.

DISPOSAL OF THE DEAD

The Thibettans will tell you that by permitting their bodies to be placed in urns in the Cioo-den instead of being given to starving beasts, their Lamàs exercise compassion of the highest order towards mankind. It is no great thing, they say, to give your dead body to a few hungry animals, but it is different for one above common men, who is already on the high road to perfection and approaching Godhood. Thus our Lamàs leave their bodies to be venerated not only by us, but by future generations. These precious relics have protected us and our country from many evils, and this we regard as the most sublime and perfect manifestation of compassion. I was not satisfied with their replies, full of superstition and errors. The Thibettans say they observe this method of disposing of their dead because they believe it to be a deed of charity ; at the same time their Lamàs, who are their spiritual leaders, do not practise it, which is inconsistent. Also the great nobles of the Kingdom, and the lesser nobility who are rich enough, insist on their dead being burnt on a pyre, another inconsistency. But this is not astonishing. Incompatibility and contradictions in their beliefs are proper to all false sects, and their followers either cannot or will not see them, out of fear of being forced to abandon their creed.[65]

BOOK THE THIRD

(Missing in MS. A; constructed from MS. B and the Fl. MS.)

Describing the False and Peculiar Religion Prevailing in Thibet

CHAPTER I

Concerning the Grand Lamà, Head of the Thibettan Religion.
(*MS. B, pp.* 135–140; *Fl. MS. f°* 93–95.)

TO give an account of this sect and peculiar religion, or rather of this mixture of strange dogmas which constitute a religion unlike, as far as I know, any other in the world, it is fitting to begin with its head, the Grand Lamà. The hierarchy existing in Thibet is not secular but superior to all temporal and regular government. Head of all is the Grand Lamà of Thibet, who is like the Pontiff of this blind and superstitious people, and the chief of all other Lamàs. To explain the devotion of the Thibettans to their Grand Lamà and why they not only respect him, but invoke his aid and offer sacrifices to him and adore him, you must know that one of their most sacred and worshipped idols (as I shall point out later) is called Cen-ree-zij. They say that for ages this Cen-ree-zij has been reincarnated as a human being uninterruptedly in Thibet or in one of the adjoining countries, not so much from a desire to receive the homage of his beloved Thibettans, as to be ready to help them when in need, to guide them in their religion so that it may never waver in the Kingdom, and to lead them in the path of virtue and thereby insure their eternal and perfect felicity. To achieve this, they say that in all his successive incarnations he is always born as the Grand Lamà, that is to say, absolutely alien to things of this life and head Master and Director of Thibet in all matters pertaining to religion. In short the Thibettans believe that their Grand Lamà Cen-ree-zij voluntarily becomes a man for the good of the Kingdom and the salvation of their souls. The accounts given by some writers about these countries are entirely devoid of truth, the Thibettans

do not believe that their Grand Lamà is immortal, that he does not die, that he is invisible and never shows himself to anyone. On the contrary they believe and affirm that their Grand Lamà dies like other men, they know the day of his death, mourn his absence, preserve his corpse, and venerate his relics. Not only does he show himself to his beloved Thibettans, but to foreigners, not only does he receive visits in his palace, but on some festivals he goes abroad, and is seen by all in public and solemn state. I must add that when the Grand Lamà grows old, or is ill, or dies, this people show the greatest veneration and love for him, believing that it is out of love for them and for their salvation that he has, not once but an infinite number of times, become a man, and taken upon himself the hardships and misery which afflict fragile, decrepit, and mortal humanity.[1]

So true it is that the Thibettans believe their Grand Lamà dies that they are quite persuaded he is born again as the Grand Lamà of Thibet; they search for and recognize him as such and as Grand Lamà set him on the throne in the above-mentioned residence of Potalà. This is not done privately, but in public, amid a very considerable concourse of people, great applause, and with due solemnity. The Thibettans affirm that the Grand Lamà ere he dies predicts the place where in a few months he is to be born anew and bids them go there and search for him. After the lapse of a few years a child whose birth, reckoning from his conception, coincides with the times predicted by the late Grand Lamà and the years passed since his death, says he is the Grand Lamà who died in such a year, such a month, and on such a day. He declares that he has been born anew in order to continue helping his devoted Thibettans, and demands to be reinstated in the palace of Potalà. The news soon spreads to the Court, whereupon the King and the government order that

several Lamàs, doctors and monks of high standing, authority and prudence should go and carefully examine, discuss, and judge, whether the boy really be the new-born Grand Lamà or not. When they arrive at the place, together and singly they question the boy several times in order to discover whether he really be the new-born Grand Lamà. During this examination the boy relates that in his former state such and such a thing had happend to him ; so and so were his friends ; that he often used certain books, describing what they were like ; that in such a box, shut in a particular way, were certain things ; and gives other and various details. The envoys after conferring together come to the conclusion that the boy having remembered clearly and minutely so many things concerning the late Grand Lamà of Thibet, there could be no doubt that he is the Grand Lamà born again for the good of his country. Then they prostrate themselves at the boy's feet, worship him with great affection and many tears, and return to the Court to render a full account of their mission, demanding that the boy shall be brought to Lhasà, installed in his residence of Potalà and enthroned, which is done with great solemnity. This is what the Thibettans say and believe.[2] When I spoke about this to several persons they said they were convinced that it was a fraud arranged between the child's relations and some Lamàs and monks to deceive the credulous Thibettans ; that they secretly instructed him and only let him speak when he knew his lesson well. These were all discreet and learned persons in authority, and highly respected, and they have constantly said this is the only explanation, refusing to believe that it is an artifice of the devil as I have asserted. They deny that the devil could have so much power. Another reason they give is that this thing happens not once but very frequently, and finally they say it is unbelievable

that God can permit that so numerous a people should be repeatedly confirmed in their false belief. Perchance the reader may be inclined to believe the people who attribute all this to the boy's relations and the Lamàs and others who teach him what to say, and not to the machinations of the devil. I may therefore be excused if in a few words I explain why I differ from the above-mentioned people.

CHAPTER II

Reasons why this alleged Incarnation of the Grand Lamà must be a Work of the Devil (Synopsis).

(*MS. B, pp.* 140–156; *Fl. MS. f°* 95–100.)

[FATHER Desideri begins his "few words" by declaring that it is impossible that a young child can concoct such stories without extraneous aid. The question is whether his relations and the lamas, monks and doctors do it for their own purpose or whether it is the work of the devil. Even in the Catholic Religion, he says, we see what dissensions sometimes arise about the election of the supreme Head of the Holy Roman Church. It is only after great discussions among men eminent for their virtue and doctrine that they finally all vote for one man. How much more difficult is it in Tibet for lamas, doctors, and other persons to undertake to teach one or more boys, to agree in such fraudulent instruction, and to unite in recommending the same boy to the government and the king. It seems impossible, he says, that they can deceive not only the people of Tibet, of Upper and Lower Tartary, of Second Tibet or Lhatà-yul, of Nepal, and of the vast empire of China, the many doctors, magistrates, lamas, and the various kings. Again, he asks what can be their object in thus deceiving millions of people? Love for a boy they have never seen or

heard of, as many of these lamas, monks and doctors come from distant provinces, and know nothing of the boy or of his family ; hopes of obtaining advantages and honours when he grows to man's estate ? How can they tell whether he will be liberal or avaricious ? Also they generally are lamas and doctors who are well off and highly respected. Father Desideri ends his long dissertation by remarking that it is singular no boy who is proclaimed Grand Lama has ever died in childhood or as a young man, and that all Grand Lamas enjoy a long life.[3] He therefore concludes that the fraud cannot be the work of man but must be the work of the devil.]

CHAPTER III

Continuation of the Argument as to whether the Deceit mentioned in the last Chapter be a Fraud committed by Men and not by the Devil.

(*MS. B, pp.* 156–158 ; *Fl. MS. f°* 100–107.)

This chapter entirely consists of a scholastic disquisition as to why the devil is permitted to deceive mankind, and is omitted.

CHAPTER IV

Containing further Details about the Grand Lamà and the other inferior Lamàs of Thibet.

(*Numbered Ch. XIX in MS. B, pp.* 175–185 ; *Fl. MS. f°* 93–95 *and* 108–110.)

THE Grand Lamà of Thibet, as I have already said, is recognized and venerated not only by all Thibettans of Second and Third Thibet, but by Nepalese, Tartars and Chinese, and is regarded as their Chief, Master, Protector, and Pontiff. He is worshipped and sacrifices are made to him not as an ordinary man, but as Cen-ree-zij (of whom I shall speak later), incarnated and reincarnated for long

centuries for their guidance and benefit. He rules not only over religious, but over temporal matters, as he is really the absolute master of all Thibet. It is true that *ab antiquo* he instituted a King, to attend to civil, military and criminal affairs in his stead and in his name. Thus the King of this Thibet is not a king, but a mere administrator, who would not dare to oppose anything ordered by the Grand Lamà. The vast and magnificent palace was built on the rock of Potalà because of the tradition that in olden days when Thibet was uninhabited Cen-ree-zij lived there and appeared to the woman who had lost her way in these mountains, and whose children by the monkey eventually populated this country. A number of monks live in the palace, who officiate in the Grand Lamà's chapel and wait upon him, and some laymen, such as ministers, officers, and superintendents of domestic and public affairs. What Father Athanasius Kircher in his "Cina Illustrata" and Luigi Moreri in his "Dizionario Istorico" (*see Bibliography*) say about the Grand Lamà being invisible save to a few intimate friends is not true. He continually receives visits, and is often occupied in discussing matters with the King, the nobles, the Lamàs, superiors of monasteries, sometimes with merchants, and often with pious people of both sexes, also foreigners who bring him offerings.

Twice a year he is also seen in public in the city of Lhasá, when he presides at the festivals of the two Mollàm [Mön-lam], during the first ten days of the Davà Tangbò [Da-wa Dang-po], or the first new moon, and the last ten days of the Davà Sumbà [Da-wa Sum-pa], or the third moon. Mollàm means prayers in Thibettan, and the festivals of Mollàm are public prayers and supplications by the people and by a vast number of monks who are summoned to Lhasà for the ceremonies. The Mollàm of the first new Moon are prayers for the welfare of living people

during the year ; the Mollàm of the last days of the third Moon are for favourable crops, which are being sown in the beginning of the Davà Sgibà [Da-wa Zhi-pa] or fourth moon in Lhasà and the country round. For these festivals the Grand Lamà invites monks, not only from monasteries near by, but from afar. Many thousands of them hold public services for ten days in the Lhabrang, the principal temple in Lhasà, which I have already described. During these days the Grand Lamà sits on a throne outside the temple, prays and preaches a moral sermon to the people. He and the King both give food and drink to the monks convened to Lhasà, and a present to each one. They also send considerable alms to the monasteries and convents of monks and nuns in order that they also may join their private to the public prayers. These alms consist of silver, gold, pieces of silk, Kadak (*scarfs*), Mênzê [Men-tsé, *coloured silk handkerchiefs*], large quantities of tea and butter, animals, flour, tobacco, and other things. What all this costs can only be known to one who has been in Thibet, and I shall not mention any sum through fear of being accused of exaggeration. The festival of Davà Tangbò ends with a solemn and fine procession or cavalcade from the palace of Potalà to the temple of Lhabrang. First come a number of Trabá or monks of a lower grade, not in their ordinary costume, but clothed in silk made in various fashion, and each monk carries a banner or something appertaining to the treasure of the temple of Lhabrang. They are followed by other monks, such as Kelongs [Gelong], or Ranjambà [Rab-jam-pa], on horseback, clothed in damasks and brocades from China, very beautiful and curious to behold. After them, also on horseback, come the Calongscià, the nobles, the governors of provinces, and the feudal vassals, most richly dressed with many jewels. They are followed by

many important Lamàs on horseback with their emblems and many ornaments, and by several of the Grand Lamà's ministers, monks on horseback with banners, and led horses magnificently caparisoned, bearing rich vessels with burning incense and perfumes in front of the Grand Lamà, who is carried in a rich palanquin. Immediately behind him rides the King with the dignitaries of his Court, especially Tartars, most richly dressed. The windows and façades of the houses are adorned with drapery, silk hangings and wreaths, and the crowd of people in the streets, windows, and on the roofs is enormous, who all prostrate themselves as the Grand Lamà passes and salute him with joyous shouts and applause, and burning of incense in his honour. Bands with divers kinds of instruments play during the procession, and songs and choruses resound when the Grand Lamà arrives at the temple of Lhabrang and when he retires. Towards evening the ladies of Lhasà, richly dressed and with many jewels, go to amuse the King with a public dance. Refreshments are served, and to many of them he gives presents. The great cavalcade does not take place on the festival of the Mollàm of the third moon, but a very fine procession goes round the whole of the Lhabrang, which is of considerable size.[4]

The Grand Lamà is immensely rich. Direct taxes, customs, and the general revenues of the Kingdom are common to both him and the King. But every day he receives large offerings and presents which are entirely his property. To this must be added the great quantity of horses and mules, and large herds of mountain cattle (*yaks*), which I have mentioned before, and the number of merchants in his employ, for the amount he derives from trade with China and other lands is incredible. He spends large sums in the decoration of his palace of Potalà and of his Lha-Khang, or Temple of Idols, in the

palace, on his court and servants, but more in alms to monasteries and nunneries, and for the two Mollàms I have described above.

His chief occupations are offering sacrifices, praying for all living men, seeing that officers and heads of monasteries and other Lamàs do their duty, receiving visits, writing despatches, signing pardons, which bear the impress of his great seal in red, and examining his accounts.

It is impossible to describe the reverence shown by all Thibettans, Tartars, Nepalese, and Chinese to the Grand Lamà of Thibet. Successive Emperors of China have always shown him great respect, some even going to meet and escort him with pomp to Pekin, and they often send their ambassadors to him with presents.[5] Whoever goes to see him, even the King and other Lamàs, must kneel and bow low three times until their heads touch the ground; when they approach close to his throne, he places his hand on their head. They believe he is Thamcé-Khienbá [Tham-ché Khien-pa] or omniscient; that he knows and sees everything, so that in their own houses they burn incense and perfumes, offer sacrifices and invoke his aid as if he were present. Statues and portraits of him are kept together with their idols in the Ció-Khang in their houses, where daily sacrifices are offered up. These blind, deluded people actually beg for the excrement of the Grand Lamà, which is made up into small pills, worn as amulets or swallowed by them when ill as the best remedy against all maladies.[6]

Just as the Thibettans believe the Grand Lamà of Thibet to be an ever-repeated incarnation of Cen-ree-zij, so they believe that the principal Lamà of Thakpò, already mentioned, is an ever-continued incarnation of another of their idols, Urghien, about whom I shall speak later. He has several Lamàs at his court and many monks and nuns are under his jurisdiction.

Indeed, he is the chief of all monks and nuns who wear the red cap of the Trubbà and the Trubbamà, of whom I shall speak anon. The famous Lamà of Giegazzè [Shigatse] I have already mentioned and shall only add a few details about him.[7]

There are three sorts of Lamàs in Thibet. The highest in rank and most esteemed are those who are always reincarnated as Lamàs. The second class are those who have estates and great riches, have married and had children to succeed to the dignities and office of Lamà. The third are those elected by the King and the Grand Lamà for their science, discretion and honesty. What I have said about the errors, illusions and false beliefs of the Thibettans regarding the reincarnation of the Grand Lamà and the trouble taken to examine whether he is the same Grand Lamà as the one lately deceased, is true of the other Lamàs of the first class, of whom there are a considerable number. Those of the second class are also held in high honour, although they are married. But by their rules they must put their wife aside as soon as a boy is born to make sure of the succession. In case the wife has no son, more young girls are chosen until the desired son is born, because the dignity of Lamà must by law descend in the same family. I only know of three such Lamàs, one at Secchia [Sakya], one at Thakpò, and another at Lungar.[8] Those of the third class are very numerous.

All Lamàs are venerated as masters of law and directors of other men, and each one is a superior of some monastery and has his own diocese, income and court, and lives in splendour; he has his own temple of idols, of which he is the head. During their services they wear a silk cloak of damask or brocade, generally yellow, and a mitre of yellow cloth, in shape like the mitres worn by our bishops, only without the division at the top. In short the Lamàs

of Thibet are like our Bishops and Archbishops. We European Missionaries are regarded and respected as Lamàs, and are called Gogar Ki Lamà [Go-kar, *white head*], or European Lamàs, and we are acknowledged as spiritual directors and masters of our Law, and as monks, because we are not married.

CHAPTER V

About the Thibettan Monks and Nuns, their Monasteries, Convents, Dress, Organization, and Habits.

(*Ch. xx of MS. B, pp.* 185–203 ; *Fl. MS. f°* 110–117.)

Monks and nuns, who are very numerous, are also much respected by the Thibettans. The monasteries are very large and there are many of them ; each is ruled by at least one Lamà and another monk who holds the office of Ker-Koo [Gé-kŏ, *provost*], which means that he attends to all correspondence, sees that the rules are absolutely obeyed, and superintends punishments. There are four grades of Thibettan monks. The first are Lamàs ; the second are Rangiambà, or doctors and teachers who, after studying for twelve years in some monastery, which is also a university, and holding many public disputations, are at last promoted to be doctors. They rank immediately after the Lamàs and take a prominent place in the temples, as they are not only learned in matters of law and religion, but in prayers and the ritual to be observed in sacrifices and orations which take place several times a day in their temples. The third grade are the Ke-long, who have not only taken monastic vows, but far more severe ones. They swear to their Lamà to preserve absolute chastity, to obey him implicitly, and take so strict a vow of poverty that they may possess nothing, and must beg their food day by day. They are only permitted to have one garment, which

must be a gift, and one dish for food and drink, and may only accept enough for one day. It is true this is not strictly observed. They also swear not to touch any intoxicating liquor, or smoke tobacco or eat garlic, and various other things. They are only allowed one meal a day, so the Ke-long eat no supper but only drink a little *cià* or some other liquid. They must pray several times a day and make sacrifices. They wear a yellow cap shaped like a mitre and a yellow robe under the red cloak worn by all the priesthood. The Lamàs and the Rangiambàs usually take the rank of Ke-long and wear the mitre. The Trabà, also called Zunbà, are the fourth class of monks, who have not yet taken any degree or become ordained monks. This fourth class is again divided into three classes, which include an infinite number of Trabà. The first are those who have not studied in any university, either from incapacity or poverty; or who having studied were unable to pass the examinations. The second (they are very numerous) are those who are beginning to study in their own monastery, or have begun their studies in a monastery-university, which, as I have already said, last for at least twelve years. The third class are mere boys who are taught to read, write, and learn the prayers by heart which are recited in their temples every day. If any of the monks of the three inferior grades are regular in attending services, honest and well conducted, they can in time be admitted into the class of the Ke-long and thus enter into the third class.[9]

In Thibet there is no definite age for taking the habit, but generally small children of four or five years of age are put into the monasteries, partly to accustom them to the life from early years and to induce them to study, partly because their avaricious parents are glad to be quit of the son or daughter destined for a religious life, and partly from

superstition. For they believe that whoever enters a monastery or nunnery of their own free will must have shown a great longing in a former existence for a religious life and have made most efficacious Mollàm, or prayers to be born again as a human being and be a monk or nun, and that the present birth or transmigration is a reward for former virtues and the fulfilment of vows and prayers made in a previous existence. They think the child is born with the instinctive desire to become a religious, and so make him or her take the habit at the age of four or five and live in a monastery or a nunnery. Thus superstition is fostered by the law almost universal in Thibet, that the second son or daughter must become a monk or nun ; and they are persuaded such births are not fortuitous, but that owing to the virtuous life led in a former existence the child born again as a man or woman is destined to a religious life.

The children who are to become monks or nuns are presented to the Lamà of the monastery or convent which is to be their home by their parents and a few monks. The Lamà cuts off their hair, bestows upon them a new name and consigns them to the care of a Rangiambà, or to an old monk who is master of the novices, to be instructed in religious matters, reprimanded and even punished. After some years the novice goes to a monastery-university to perfect himself in different sciences.[10]

Lamàs, Ranjambàs, Kelongs, Trabà, and nuns all wear the same habit. Their hair must be quite shaved, and indoor and out they wear a woollen yellow cap with long fringes of wool, shaped like the crown of our hats, but with lappets behind and on the sides reaching to the shoulders ; those on the sides are generally turned up. When they go to the temple or are summoned to a house to do Korim, that is to recite prayers and offer up sacrifices for an invalid, or go to see the Lamà, they have a different

cap of yellow wool woven so as to resemble yellow velvet. This cap is triangular in front, a square lappet hangs on either side and one behind with wide fringes of yellow wool. It is either worn on the head or thrown over the left shoulder. When the Lamàs or the Ke-longs go out of the monastery they wear a cap almost scarlet in colour and shaped like the mitres of our bishops. When travelling the Lamàs and some of the more important religious wear a white or gilt hat, which comes from China. Their habit consists of a tunic of red cloth which reaches to the hips ; it has no buttons, but is wide and overlaps and is held in its place by a girdle of yellow wool, generally netted. It has no sleeves but may be trimmed with red or yellow damask, and for the Lamàs with brocade. When on a journey the monks are allowed to wear a long quilted coat, but with light sleeves, in lieu of the tunic ; this is girt round the waist and lined with fur. From the hips down to the feet they wear a wide petticoat, like that worn by women, which they arrange in large folds, especially over the hips, and tuck into a girdle like that of the waistcoat. This petticoat is made of much thinner red cloth and for greater decency is double. Trousers are forbidden to monks and nuns, they wear leggings of red cloth reaching to the knee and ornamented with silk needlework attached to a boot made of white leather. Instead of a cloak they have a shawl of red cloth like a long blanket, one end of which they throw over the left shoulder. The Zen, or shawl, may not be worn in the temples or at a Korim, in its stead they wear a kind of large stole reaching to the ground, of red cloth with a trimming of yellow cloth. Under this the Kelong wear their gold-coloured emblem. When the Lamàs go to the temple, or on a journey, they put on a large mantle of damask or of Chinese brocade, swathed tightly round them from the neck halfway

to their knees. There is no difference in Thibet between the dress of monks and nuns.[11]

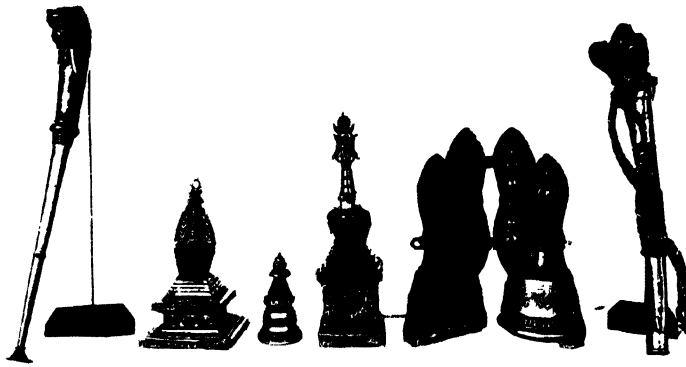
Monasteries and nunneries are absolutely separated, though ruled by the same Lamà. Women may not enter a monastery and men may not enter a nunnery, save the Lamà or the King and their attendants. Monks cannot leave their monasteries without the permission of the Lamà or of the Ker-Koo, but the nuns enjoy more liberty. They can either live in the convent or in the house of their family, only going to attend solemn functions in the convent. Many of them prefer this, as at home they get better food and can work for their parents, but they are obliged to wear the habit. Those who live in the convent must attend prayers every day in the temple and are given food, but often in quite insufficient quantities; they cannot go out unless the Mother Superior or the mistress gives permission, but they are allowed to work and earn money for their own use.[12]

Life in a monastery is as follows: The Lamà lives in his own palace, which often is very magnificent, within the walls enclosing the property of the monastery. He is generally to be found in the principal apartment or in the Lha-Khang or chapel of idols. Several times a day he has to recite various prayers and offer sacrifices for the good of all living beings, and has to receive visits from his monks, devotees, ministers and retainers. After the morning prayers and sacrifices he has breakfast, and at mid-day he dines. During the day he repeatedly drinks *cià* prepared according to the Thibettan fashion, and again at night, or he takes some weak soup. Several times a year he must preside at services in the temple of his monastery, especially at the public Mollàm of his diocese, which somewhat resembles the Mollàms of the Grand Lamà in Lhasá. He also presides at what may be called Lenten services,

which last for a month, a month and a half, or two months. The whole community then assemble several times a day in the wood, which is always within the precincts or close to the monastery, and hold conferences, during which the Lamà, seated on a raised throne, solves doubts, explains difficult passages, and preaches a sermon. Monks specially attached to the Lamà's service, scholars, ministers, officials, and servants all live in his palace. Every Thibettan who goes to visit the Lamà must kneel down two or three times and with hands clasped touch the ground with his forehead ; when he approaches the throne he must kneel down and wait for the imposition of the Lamà's hand on his head, which is regarded as a great benediction. The man then offers his present and the Lamà bids him sit down, either on the pavement, on a bench, or on a couch, according to his rank, listens to his requests and compliments, and then orders *cià* to be brought in, which he shares. If anyone offers a valuable present the Lamà gives him something in return, and at last hangs round the neck of each devotee a Kadak or a Menzè in which he makes a few knots ; this is kept as a relic. Some of those present beg for a more special relic, which, as I have already said when speaking of the Grand Lamà, consists of the excrements of the Lamà made into small pills which the Thibettans swallow or keep as amulets in a reliquary hanging round their necks.

The monks do not live in one big house ; there are many small ones near together which are usually well built with three storeys. They contain several apartments inhabited by Ranjambà or other important monks who have two or three young monks or novices under their charge. Nearly every house has a small garden and many pots with flowers, little trees, herbs, onions and such-like plants. The aged monks who have not taken a degree, and the young students

PLATE VIII



BRASS AND SILVER TRUMPET (CHAUNK); BONE TRUMPET; THREE SMALL DECORATED CHOTEN, DORJE AND DRILBU IN CASE (SCEPTRE AND BELL)

(De Filippi Collection)

TWO VESSELS FOR HOLY WATER, BRASS BOWLS FOR BUTTER-LAMPS, STAND AND SILVER CUP FOR OFFERINGS, AND TIBETAN ROSARY

(De Filippi Collection)

[*face p.* 216

in monastery-universities, generally have two cells, one a kitchen, the other a living room.

At early dawn two monks in religious dress go to the top of the temple, blow into a conch shell and then beat with a curved stick with a button of leather at one end a disk which resembles a great copper basin and makes a noise like a good bell. All the monks then go to the temple in their ceremonial dress and the large ornamented cap and stole, and take their places according to their rank in rows on the right and the left, sitting on mats most sedately with crossed legs. Some of them intone prayers, others read aloud from their prayer-books or from one of the 115 big volumes which they believe to be infallible oracles. When during the prayers they offer up sacrifices to their idols several monks beat drums of a peculiar shape, while others strike two large brass-cymbals together in unison with the drums, thus making a concert. Others again have long copper trumpets, and others occasionally interpolate tunes on instruments like flutes or clarionets, which have a pleasant, sweet tone. Prayers then continue until at a signal from the Ker-Koo several young monks go to the big kitchen and each brings a large wooden vase of fine colour and shape, prettily ornamented with leaves and arabesques in brass, full of *cià*. From this they fill the cups of the other monks; when all the cups are full the Ker-Koo makes another signal and the monks all drink together, and then go on with the service. At a third signal from the Ker-Koo the youths bring in other and clean vases, the Thukpà, a kind of thin soup with rice and little bits of meat in it, which they give to the monks, who after more prayers go back to their houses or cells. On some days they have three, five or even seven services in the temple, according to the amount of alms sent to the community. When any special alms are sent they are distributed

among the monks during a service in the temple. If a monk fidgets, talks to his neighbour, laughs, or does not recite the prayers with the others, the Ker-Koo upbraids him at once, or punishes him more severely later if the offence is serious. The midday and evening meals are always taken by the monks in their own houses or cells alone. At certain hours in the morning or afternoon the young students in the monastery-universities are engaged in study or in private conferences with the Rangiambà who is their master; at other hours they are obliged to attend the public conferences or disputations which are held nearly every day in a kind of enclosed square with trees. Here on a raised throne the Lamà presides, and round the throne are placed mats for certain Rangiambàs and senior masters. The rest of the community, according to their rank, stand in a semi-circle round the throne. Some of those present then propound doubts, which the Lamà explains and refutes by quotations from their classic books and from the most famous authors of their sect. Others are appointed to maintain certain propositions, attacked with great ardour by some of the students who crowd round the defendants and loudly and emphatically quote arguments in the form of enthymemes, partly derived from metaphysical reasons, partly from authoritative standard books. To these arguments the defendant, as is the custom with us, replies by denying, or assenting or contradicting the arguments, or denying the hypothesis and explaining the doctrine, as is done in our schools. Those students who are not regular in their attendance are reprimanded; if they do not reform, they lose their share of the alms which from time to time are bestowed on the community. At other times in the afternoon or towards evening many of the young students sit out in the sun and talk, others go for a walk or on their own business. In

those monasteries which are not universities the older monks teach the novices or the young monks, attend services, read, talk or go out on their own affairs.

As I have already stated, in the monasteries there is one or sometimes several Lamàs as superiors, and the Ker-Koo, who is responsible for good discipline and who reprimands or punishes any offender. Serious cases are judged by the Lamà, and if any inmate is incorrigible, he is expelled. If any monk sins against the seventh commandment, he has to undergo public penance, pay a large fine, is degraded and obliged to sit in the lowest place among the novices. Should a nun break the seven thcommandment, she is chastised, and if she bears a child she and the man have to pay heavy fines and undergo other punishments inflicted, not by the civil court but by the Lamà.

The monks in Thibet are maintained in this wise : first every Lamà lives in great style with a considerable court, many servants, horses, mules and cattle, like a prince. They have a personal income from their fiefs, but their chief riches are the continual offerings from the King, the Grand Lamà, the governors, their subjects and devotees. For food and clothes the monks depend partly on the revenues of their monastery which are distributed among them according to their rank, and partly on the almost continual alms sent by the King, the Grand Lamà, their own Lamà, devout people, or legacies left by deceased friends. They also receive presents, especially clothes, from their relatives. They never occupy themselves with working in the fields, cutting or sawing wood, or other such employments, the laymen of the diocese are obliged to go in person or to send a substitute to work for the monastery.

By their rules the monks are absolutely forbidden to trade, but they pay small heed to such prohibition ; they are grasping and keen bargainers, and often obtain permission to leave the monastery for a time

and travel on business. All the Lamàs have a great many horses and mules they send with their agents and servants to China and other lands to lay in large supplies for themselves, their court and the monastery.

Some of the more devout monks retire, with the Lamà's permission, for a month or more to one of the hermitages belonging to their monastery to meditate and pray in solitude. A few are so enamoured of solitude that they obtain leave to live entirely in their hermitage, leading a life of constant prayer, meditation and poverty. They only occasionally leave their retreat to beg alms or to confer with their Lamà, who is their spiritual master.[13]

CHAPTER VI

Concerning the various Kinds of Religious Orders in Thibet.

(Ch. xxi of MS. B, pp. 203–214; Fl. MS. f° 117–121.)

In Thibet there are two kinds of monks. The first class, whose superior is the Grand Lamà of Potalà, wear a yellow cap. The second class wear a red cap and also acknowledge the said Grand Lamà as supreme head of their sect and religion, but regard the Lamà who lives on the mountain in the province of Thakpò as their immediate superior. The monks with yellow caps are dedicated to Sciakkià Thubbà whom they revere as the founder of their class; those with red caps, while venerating Sciakkià Thubbà as a legislator, are more devoted to Urghien, who they assert was the founder of their class, and whom they worship with a special ritual differing from that of the other monks.[14] Although there are fewer of these monks they are held in higher esteem and honour in Thibet than those of the yellow caps, perhaps because they are more retiring or because they appear to have a higher morality. The envy and intense hatred with

which they are regarded by the monks of the first class is not to be described ; the persecution was so great as to cause the ruin and almost the destruction not only of the monks of the second class, but of the unhappy Kingdom of Thibet. To make this clear it would be necessary to repeat the terrible catastrophes I have already described (*Book II, Chapters X to XII*), so I will only add that the origin of all the disasters was the envy and hatred the monks of the yellow caps bore against those of the red. The tyrannical execrable usurper of the Kingdom of Thibet, Çe-ring-ton-drup, was a monk of the first class and studied in the great Monastery-University of Giegazzé. The two principal commanders and nearly all the soldiers of his army were also monks of the yellow cap and, as I said before, no sooner did they approach Lhasá than from the monasteries of Será, Breêbung and others the monks rushed out armed, carrying arms and aummunitions to those barbarous enemies of their fatherland. But the deluded Thibettans soon discovered that the statement that they had delivered the Grand Lamà from his prison in China and were bringing him to his palace of Potalà was only a pretext to be able to vent their hatred on the monks of the red cap. So little did the former care about the Grand Lamà, that when the Chinese army entered Thibet escorting him, those deceitful wolves attacked them. Indeed, from the first of December, 1717, until the end of October, 1720, they ill-treated and murdered the monks of the second class and all who had dealings with them. Many of their monasteries were sacked and destroyed, the richest and most honoured Lamàs were killed, while others fled deprived of everything, and sought refuge in caverns. Overcome by compassion and moved to tears I helped the poor fugitive Lamà of Lungar to escape from his persecutors. He was, as I have said, one of the married Lamàs ; a fat man, very

courteous and kindly by nature, lord of an extensive fief, very rich and powerful because of his relationship with many great families, and universally loved and respected. We were great friends, and when I spent two years in the province of Thakpò, he often invited me to pass two or three days with him, and always wanted to give me presents, especially gold. My refusal of his offer almost broke our friendship until he heard that I had in like manner refused to accept presents from other friends, great personages, or even from the King.

He was in bed one night when a messenger arrived with the sad tidings that his wife, little daughter, and many of their followers had been made prisoners by these barbarians, and immediately afterwards he heard screams and cries that the gate of his palace was assailed by the enemy. The palace and monastery of Lungar is on a high rock surrounded by a river on three sides, but joined to the mainland on the other by a good road leading up from the public highway to the entrance of the palace and monastery. On one side a secret postern, known to but few of the inmates, opens on a steep rocky pathway leading down to the river bank. The good Lamà, overwhelmed with grief and fearing to fall into the hands of these barbarians, seized his little son and in the dark night hurried down the steep path to the river where he found one of his boatmen. The man hearing the tumult had taken his boat to the path and immediately ferried the Lamà across the river and hid him in a safe place. When the barbarians found their prey had escaped they seized the unfortunate boatman and tortured him in every possible way, but not a word could they extract as to the fate of his master. It chanced that in his flight the Lamà passed near to where I was then living and he sent to tell me of his sad plight, and asked me to lend him some money. With every precaution

and secrecy I sent it to him with many messages of condolence. When about a year later the Chinese conquered Thibet and the Lamà was reinstated in his monastery of Lungar, I was still in the province of Thakpò preparing to leave Thibet according to the orders of our very Reverend Father General, and went to see my old friend. I cannot describe the tears he shed when telling me of his misfortunes, and his assurances of unchangeable friendship. He wanted to give me back the money I had sent him and many valuable presents besides, but I refused to take anything, which made him regret still more the departure of so true and intimate a friend.

To return to the abominable persecutors of the monks of the second class they confiscated all their possessions, sacked their palaces, destroyed many of their monasteries, turned their temples into stables or despoiled them, broke their statues, burnt the figures and the books relating to Urghien, and forbade anyone to recite prayers to him or even to pronounce his name. Although afflicted by the sorrows of the Thibettans yet I rejoiced at the annihilation of one of the malignant demons who had for so long deceived this unhappy people, and against whom I had preached and written in the first book I composed in their language and presented in public audience to the king on the 6th of January, 1717. It is true that later the Chinese restored the cult as it had been in the time of Cinghes-Khang. So that while on the one hand during my mission in Thibet God gave me the consolation of seeing the belief in transmigration shaken by the constant and strong opposition of King Cinghes-Khang to the recognition of the new Grand Lamá, and the cult of the said demon Urghien overthrown by the Giongars, on the other I was ordered to leave Thibet and hand over the mission to others and to witness the enthronement of the new Grand Lamà by the Chinese and the cult of that

infernal Urghien re-established. But praise be ever given to God who sees and rules all things. *Justus es, Domine, et rectum judicium tuum. Ita Pater quoniam sic fuit placitum ante te.*

Besides the above-mentioned two principal classes of monks and nuns in Thibet there is a third, called Trubbà, and Trubbamà, who are hermits. Their dress is of the same fashion and colour, only the cloth is thicker and their red cap is shaggy and coarser. They are disciples of Urghien and regard him as their founder, but at the same time they are professed adherents of a certain ancient hermit of Thibet whose name I have forgotten, but whose life, written in most elegant Thibettan, is as follows : born of poor parents he studied magic, and among other things could cause hail to fall when and where he pleased. But one day seeing the damage done to so many he reflected that hell would be his portion after death and decided to lead a holy life. To do this he placed himself under the guidance and discipline of a Lamà renowned for sanctity. So much did he profit by the Lamà's teaching, that he went to live in a solitary and rugged place not very far from what is now Kutti, which I have already mentioned. He wore no clothes to shield him from the bitter cold, only a skin over that part of the body which decency demands should be covered. He slept on the bare ground and his food was a handful of nettles, fresh or dried and boiled in water, with the addition on special feast days of a little salt, as happened when his sister went to see him and he boiled two handfuls of nettles seasoned with salt. This visit is described with great tenderness in his life, and how at last he achieved sanctity, though he did not attain to the supreme condition of a Sanghiée [Sangye]. Every hermit has a copy of this book and professes to imitate him. These hermits live on rugged mountains and in lonely places, only going to beg

PLATE IX

Photograph, C. Antilli

A MONK READING THE KAHGYUR

Photograph, G. Abetti

A HERMIT-MONK OF LADAK, NEAR LEH

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from time to time. Their cup, which serves for food and drink, is the upper part of a skull, and the beads worn round their necks are not of wood, like those of other monks, but of bones of human vertebræ. Yet even these hermits are tainted with the passion for business and commerce, though not to the extent prevailing among other monks. They have their own Lamà and superiors, but as they have no estates, riches, court, monasteries or fine temples they have not much power. Their principal residence called Ge-rí [Tseri, or Tsari], already mentioned, is held in great veneration. The Trubbamà or female hermits generally live in their hermitages, they seldom stay in their father's house as do other nuns. Many of the Trubbà, or hermits, and the monks of the second class are magicians, wizards, and sorcerers, because of the teaching of their diabolical founder Urghien. This, added to their retired habits and sedateness, accounts for the great veneration paid to them by this people, and also for the envy and intense hatred of the monks of the first class, among whom very few succeed in such practices disguised under the name of prayers.

CHAPTER VII

Of the Errors and the Religion of the Thibettans, and an Account of the System of Metempsychosis, or the Pythagorean Transmigration as explained and believed by them.

(*Ch. xxvii of MS. B, pp.* 262–276; *Fl. MS. f°* 134–138.)

I NOW begin the description of the Sect or Religion of Thibet. Though the Thibettans are pagans and idolaters, the doctrine they believe is very different from that of the other pagans of Asia (*meaning India*). Their Religion, it is true, came originally from the ancient country of Hindustan, now usually called Mogol, but there, in the lapse of time, the old religion

fell into disuse and was ousted by new fables. On the other hand, the Thibettans, intelligent, and endowed with a gift for speculation, abolished much that was unintelligible in the tenets, and only retained what appeared to comprise truth and goodness. The result is that the religious beliefs of the two countries are widely dissimilar.

Source of all the errors of the false Thibettan Religion is the abominable belief in metempsychosis, or transmigration of souls, which they themselves declare to be an involved, intricate and inexplicable labyrinth.

(1) They assert that the world and all it contains, all living beings, and their successive transmigrations, have existed *ab æterno*; it is therefore impossible through the infinite series of births to ascertain when the first birth of any one being took place.

(2) They do not hold with Democritus that Fate dominates the world, and that all things living and inorganic are derived from blind and casual movements of atoms; nor with Plato and Aristotle that a universal, uncreated Being exists who is Lord and Creator of the Universe.

(3) They affirm that the world and all it contains is derived from the works of living beings, and that all former, present, and future births are dependent on the good or the evil deeds committed in a past life. Thus it would appear that the actions of a living being are antecedent to his existence, which is manifestly absurd. To this they reply that it is quite as absurd to think that a being can be antecedent to his deeds; a belief that would engender the false and irrational notion that the birth of any one living being can be distinguished from the birth of any other living being, and thereby his first original birth be ascertained.

(4) Whatever has been, is, or will be, they attribute to the good or the evil deeds of living beings.

(5) They declare that all pleasant and enjoyable things of living beings are derived from their virtues and good deeds (*in a former existence*), while all unpleasant and painful things are punishments for their evil deeds. They even assert it is rank blasphemy not to believe that the smallest injury to a hand or a foot is a consequence of some former crime.

(6) They connect pleasant and enjoyable things with the births of pleasant and joyous beings, while painful, injurious things are connected with the births of troublesome, unfortunate beings.

(7) In the same way good and evil deeds of living beings are subdivided into the following births :

(8) Agreeable and peaceful births are the outcome of good deeds, and are divided into three classes—to be born a Lhà, that is to say in a condition of felicity and enjoyment, but which is not lasting—to be born a Lhà-ma-in [Lha-ma-yin ; *demigods, or Titans*], which is a state between man and Lhà—or to be born a man.

(9) Painful and unfortunate births are also divided into three classes—to be born a brute beast—or an Itâa [Yita], which I shall explain later—or in Hell.

(10) There are three principal classes of Lhà : Dopèe-Lhà [Dŏ-pa], or temporal Gods of enjoyment ; Zuu-co-Lhà [Zŭ-chen], or temporal Gods who have a body ; Zuu-me-Lhà [Zŭ-med], or beings without bodies who indulge in intellectual repose of the soul. The first are said to lead a happy life, to possess great riches and to enjoy every kind of pleasure. Their bodies are beautiful, endowed with shining light and great agility, but they are not immortal. They are said to marry and to have children, and their life is a long one, lasting many centuries. Yet they are subject to many misfortunes and sorrows ; their worst grief is the ending of their joyful life on earth, whereupon they pass into the body of an animal, an Itâa, or go to Hell.

Another grief is being exposed to the envy and implacable rancour of the Lhà-ma-in, who wage continual war on them, when many Lhà are wounded or killed. The lesser Lhà also suffer persecution at the hands of the Lhà of higher standing. It is said that the Lhà are warned of their approaching death by five signs. The first is the loss of their fine complexion, which becomes pale and ugly; the second, an unusual feeling of restlessness; the third is the fading of the exquisite flowers they wear as a necklace; the fourth is marks of dirt on their formerly immaculately clean clothes; the fifth, and last, is the appearance of sweating. The first class of Lhà is the reward of various virtues, especially the giving of alms. This class is capable of doing good and meritorious, and also sinful deeds, and they are much given to passions. As to the two classes of temporal Gods who have bodies and enjoy material pleasures, and those who have none, but have spiritual joys, they do not suffer such labours as the Lhàs of the first class; but the fear of death and of becoming brute beasts, or Itâa, or going to Hell, is ever before them. These classes are also totally incapable of doing any good deed. Their happiness is to exist for many centuries and to indulge in a total abstraction of thought, or a calm trance. These are the rewards for having given themselves up entirely to meditation during their human existence.[16]

To understand where the abode of all the Lhàs is situated I must tell you that this people believe the earth to be flat and circular, with an enormously high mountain called Ri-rab-ccènbŏ (*Mount Meru, or Kailas*) in the middle. Round this mountain, but separated from it, is the largest and noblest part of the earth, called Zambuling [Jam-bu-ling], which is Asia (*India*). In the centre of Zambuling is a place called Torcĕ-tèn [Dor-je-den], which

from the description appears to be the town of Pattná,[17] or some other place not far from Benares, a famous city in Hindustan, or rather in the Empire of Mogol. Far down, far below Torcĕ-tèn, is the first Hell, and still lower are many others. Zambuling is said to be surrounded by seven vast circular seas. In the first are four large islands, one to the North of Zambuling, one to the South, one to the East, and one to the West. The seven seas vary in flavour and in colour, salt, sweet like milk, and so on. More men of superior excellence, who have accumulated much merit in former transmigrations, are born in Zambuling than elsewhere, and amongst them have always existed their Saints and Legislators. In the Northern island they declare there is no Religion, nor have the inhabitants any tendency to perform good deeds; only men of inferior merit are born there. The Western island they believe to be full of riches and beauties; in the other two there are both good and bad men, but none attain the higher degree of sanctity. The Lhà, as already stated, live according to their rank, high up or lower down on the great mountain Ri-Rab-ccénbŏ, round which move the sun, moon and stars every twenty-four hours. The sun, moon, planets, and some stars are animated and are Lhà or Lhà-ma-in.[18]

From what precedes, it appears that the ancient people and pagans of Hindustan, whence most of the Thibettan books are derived, had adopted the system propounded and explained by Cosmas the Egyptian born in Alexandria in the fifth century (*sixth*), also known as Cosmas Indicopleustes because he travelled as a merchant all over the Indies and wrote about the countries, animals, and other things appertaining to them. He also wrote several books in Greek about Christian topography, attempting to prove his system of the world by referring to Holy Writ, especially in his fourth volume called

"A Brief Recapitulation and description of the Shape of the World according to the Scriptures, and a Confutation of the Sphere." [19] He declares that the world is flat, square and oblong, that the longitude stretches from East to West and is twice the size of latitude which extends from North to South. This the Thibettans hold to be the above-mentioned Zambuling. He also says the world is surrounded by very high walls, straight from East to West, and closed at both ends by a semicircle, and forming a vault above. The Thibettans have adopted the wall circuit, but describe neither height nor shape, and only place a circular wall round the first sea. As to the explanations of day, night, and eclipses, the ancient author places to the extreme north of the square and oblong earth a very high and big mountain, conical in shape, round which the sun, moon and stars revolve. When the sun is on our side of the mountain it is day, when on the other it is night. When the mountain is between the sun and the moon there is an eclipse of the latter. This agrees with the above-mentioned Thibettan mountain Ri-Rab-ccènbŏ, of conical form, to the North of Zambuling; but the Thibettans do not accept his theory about eclipses. The four rivers, Geon, Phison, Euphrates, and Tigris, mentioned by him, may perhaps be connected with the four rivers of Zambuling believed in by the Thibettans. Cosmas talks of another land beyond the Great Sea, surrounding the walls, which stretch up to the sky. From this the Thibettans, and before them the ancient inhabitants of Hindustan, perhaps borrowed the idea of the above-mentioned four islands. Eclipses of the sun and the moon are said by the Thibettans to be due to certain planets which are Lhà-ma-in, especially to a planet called Zaa, a furious enemy of the Lhà and more particularly of the two Lhà, the Sun and the Moon. He attacks them, and the eclipse is due to Zaa having seized either the Sun or the Moon in his

efforts to destroy them. When the time for an eclipse approaches, which is always announced beforehand, the people rush out of their houses, or on to their roofs, fire off muskets, beat drums, scream and abuse the Zaa, hoping thus to frighten him and make him let the Sun and Moon go free. They weep, sob, and pray out of compassion for the miserable condition they think the Sun or the Moon must be in. Notwithstanding this absurd opinion, the exact day and hour of the eclipse is always accurately foretold.

Finally, though the Thibettans think that the condition of Lhà is a reward for virtue, and is more full of pleasure and riches than that of man, yet they are exposed to the envy and hatred of the Lhà-ma-in, and their state is conceived to be really inferior to that of man. It is, therefore, they declare, easier for man to attain the supreme grade of sanctity than for the Lhà, whose violent passions and other defects render it impossible for them to escape transmigration or to attain eternal felicity.

11. Although the rank of the Lhà-ma-in, or demigods, is supposed to be the reward of virtue, and that they are believed to be endowed with great riches and to enjoy many pleasures, yet the envy and hatred they bear to, and the incessant war they wage against the Lhà, make it impossible for them to avoid transmigration, or to reach eternal salvation. Indeed, it is said they are destined eventually to pass into a state of Gnén-dró [Ngang-do], or damnation, and to be born again as a brute beast, an Itâa or in Hell. They live, as I have said, on Mount Ri-Rab-ccénbŏ or in the air.

12. The state of man is also a reward for good works and virtue. For the difference between noble and ignoble, rich and poor, healthy and sickly, see above, Nos. 5 and 6. Although it is supposed to be easier for man finally to arrive at the last transmigration and to attain eternal bliss, yet some are

disqualified, as will be explained in No. 19. The three states of Lhà, Lhà-ma-in and man, are known by one name, Te-n-dro [Ten-'gro], that is to say, states, and births of rest.

CHAPTER VIII

Concerning Thibettan Ideas about Animals, certain Beings called Itâa and their Conception of Hell.

(Ch. xxviii of MS. B, pp. 276–288 ; Fl. MS. f° 138–142.)

13. NG̊Ñ-DRO [*also* Gnén-dró] is the name given by the Thibettans to the state of animals, the state of Itâa and the state of Hell, which are states of evil, of damnation and pain ; or Tu-ngnelki Kieà [Dug-nyelki-kie-wa]—that is, births of suffering. All three are believed to be punishments for sins committed in other and antecedent lives. As being born an animal is a punishment for former sins, the Thibettans believe that animals have a spiritual, reasoning soul, and are capable of doing good or evil deeds, according to their former lives, and can therefore attain eternal felicity. This, however, is impossible while they are in the shape of brute beasts.

14. The Itâa are living creatures whose mouth is only the size of the eye of a needle. Their neck is large and many miles long, their eyes emit pestiferous and fiery gases which dry up everything, and their belly is huge. They generally live near the palace of their King, called Scingè [Shin-je], and their country is five hundred leagues below Zambuling. They are said to undergo most terrible sufferings, the worst is the torment of perpetual hunger and thirst. Their skin and flesh are hot and parched, their hair is like bristles, their mouth is dry, and their tongue resembles that of a tired and thirsty dog. To quench their thirst they rush to a stream or a pool, when other armed beings appear with swords and lances to repulse them ;

or the water is changed to blood or contaminated with filth, so that for very disgust they cannot drink ; or the pestilential and fiery gases from their own eyes dry up the water, and the torment of thirst increases. If, to still their hunger, they search hither and thither for food, they find nothing ; or if they discover some small thing it is either suddenly devoured by fire or changed into loathsome filth ; if they do succeed in getting any food, their mouth is too small to receive it ; and if they manage to swallow a few crumbs these do not satisfy the craving of their enormous bellies. At length, out of desperation, they tear pieces off their own bodies, but nature rebels against such nourishment. To all this must be added that, if they suffer from great heat, wind or shade makes the heat more intense ; if tormented by cold, the hottest rays of the sun only increase the bitter cold. In short, the state of these miserable creatures is as bad as being in hell. To be thus born and thus tormented is the punishment for avarice. In this state of never-ceasing horrible pain there is no capacity for doing good deeds.

15. It is said that there is not one Hell but many. The first, called Jang-sóo [Yang-sŏ], or the Hell of repeated death and return to life, is 32,000 leagues below Torcĕ-tén, the second is 4,000 leagues lower, the others still lower, and 4,000 leagues from each other. These Hells are divided into four principal classes. The first is called Gnêe-và-ccénbò [Nyel-wa Chen-po], or Great Hell ; the second Gnêe-Khorvêe-Gnêe-và [Nyé-Khor Nyel-wa], or nearest Hell to the Great Hell ; the third Trang-nêe-Gnêe-và [Trang-né Nyel-wa], or Cold Hell ; the fourth Gni-zzè-nêe-Gnêe-và [Nye-tshe-né Nyel-wa], or Hell of short duration.

The first class comprises eight subdivisions. The inmates of the first Hell, Jang-sóo, armed with the deeds formerly committed by them, fight furiously,

wound and kill each other. Then a voice from Heaven cries aloud : " Arise ! " ; and they come to life again and fight and die for ever.

The second Hell is called Thik-nà [Thig-na], or Hell of black lines, because the guardians of this Hell draw black lines with quadrangular or octagonal instruments on the bodies of the condemned, which are then sawn in pieces according to the black lines. This torment is everlasting.

The third Hell is called Tuu-rigiom [Dŭ-ri-jom], or the Hell of crushing. Because of their former ill-deeds, the damned are said to be crowded together between two mountains which sometimes resemble the face of a goat, or a horse, or an elephant. The guardians shake the mountains, which then beat the damned and meeting together crush them until the blood flows in torrents from their bodies. Or they are thrown into a great iron press and crushed, which is awful torture ; or a mass of iron falls upon them from on high and their bodies become bloody pulp.

In the fourth Hell, called Ngnŭ-n-bó [Ngu-bod], or the Hell of tears and groans, the inmates, searching anxiously for some place of refuge, run into an iron house which at once bursts into flames and burns but does not consume them.

The fifth Hell, called Ngnŭ-n-bó-ccénbó [Chem-po], or the Hell of loud groans and many tears, is said to be almost the same as the former, only there are two flaming iron houses, one after the other.

The sixth Hell is called Zza-và, or the hot Hell. The custodians seize the damned, throw them into frying-pans or large cauldrons, to fry or boil them like fish. Then they impale them on red-hot iron stakes until their intestines obtrude and flames burst forth from their eyes, mouths, ears, and the pores of their skins. After this they throw them down on the burning pavement and beat them with red-hot iron rods.

The seventh Hell is called Rabdù-zza-vá, or exceedingly hot Hell. Here the damned are impaled on an iron trident, one point pierces the right shoulder, one the left, the centre one goes through the head, while flames issue from mouth, eyes, ears, and the pores of the skin. The custodians of Hell then wind bands of hot metal round their bodies and throw them headlong into a cauldron full of boiling lead. Their flesh falls off and nought is left save skeletons. Others are pulled out of the cauldron, laid on the hot pavement and treated as in the former Hell.

The eighth Hell is called Nar-me or the intolerable Hell. It is said that from many leagues to the East of this Hell comes a furious fire, which burns the skin, flesh, nerves, and bones of the wretched damned, and when more terrible fire comes from the other three points of the compass no one would recognize them as living creatures save by their woeful lamentations. The custodians then throw them among red-hot filings, drive them up and down rugged and sharp-pointed mountains of iron, and cast them down from the top. After this they pull the tongues of the damned out of their mouths, pierce them with nails, and stretch them as you would the skin of an ox. Throwing the miserable wretches on to the fiery pavement, they pour boiling liquid copper down their throats which penetrates to their intestines and flows through the body. Other tortures described in the preceding Hell are also, they say, practised in this one, adding that what has been said is but a pale sketch of the Hell Nar-me, and that the tortures are so awful and so horrible that it is impossible to describe them. These are the eight Hells belonging to the first class of the Great Hell.

As to the Hells of the second class, they border on those of the first and are surrounded by four circuits of walls with four gates, and iron bastions, with other

four gates outside the walls. Beyond the bastions are four deep trenches filled with burning coals, stinking mud, disgusting filth, and sharp swords. In this second class are four principal Hells.

The burning coals of the first are knee-deep, and when the damned attempt to find some place of repose they step into the coals and the flesh of their legs drops off, but as they lift their feet it grows again immediately.

The second is full of filth and stinking mud to which the damned are irresistibly attracted and sink in up to their chins. Certain worms, called *cciu-non*, or sharp-beaked, which breed in the mud, prick, bite, and tear their skin, flesh, nerves, and even their bones, into which they bore.

The third, besides being full of the said mud, has a road made of sharp swords and spear-heads, like pointed teeth. The damned seeking to escape take this road ; their feet are cut to pieces, but as they raise them they become whole again. To avoid this road they run to a dense wood and sit in the shade, but the leaves are sharp swords which fall on their heads and lacerate their bodies. The pain is so great that they fall prone to the ground, where ferocious mastiffs attack and devour them. Flying from these beasts they are confronted by iron saws, as they climb upwards the teeth are bent down, and when forced to descend the teeth turn up, so they are torn all over. Meanwhile, a large flock of ravens with beaks of iron settle on their shoulders and heads and peck out their eyes. To all this is added a furious rain of all kinds of weapons, which utterly destroys them.

The fourth Hell is said to be chiefly a torrent of boiling liquid lead. The miserable damned cannot save themselves. They fall into the torrent, now sinking to the bottom, now floating on the surface like fish in a cauldron of boiling water. On either bank of the torrent are creatures with poles and oars which prevent them from landing, but at last

pull them out, throw them down on the burning pavement, and inquire what they want. The wretched damned reply: Alas, we are starving and suffer fearful thirst; whereupon these cruel executioners pour boiling copper down their throats.

The third class is the one of cold Hells and consists of eight different Hells, but they are so alike that to avoid repetition I shall only say that intensely icy-cold winds, frozen pools, the rending of frozen flesh, and chattering of teeth are the principal torments.

The last class are the Hells of the shortest duration. The Thibettan authors differ in describing them. Some say they are placed between the hot and the cold Hells, others place them on the earth, others on the seashore, some declare they are many, a few that they are only two, while some affirm that a separate Hell exists for every damned creature, and that each one is subjected to a special torture.

After describing all the above-mentioned Hells and admitting there is an end to such tortures, they specify the almost endless number of years that must pass ere the damned can be released. Their sins and crimes are, however, gradually effaced by the torments they undergo.

On comparing the Thibettan writers and their classic books, great differences of opinion are found as to the capability of the damned to do good or evil deeds. Some affirm that the number of years of suffering is fixed, others that the damned continue to live in a state of sin. Some deny that they can do a good deed, others declare that their Legislator, being in Hell, performed a deed of such extreme goodness and virtue that not only was he instantly delivered from the pains of Hell, but spared any future transmigrations, and attained the state of Ciangiub Sembaa, or of high perfection (*see below*, Chapter XIV). Going to Hell, they declare, means being born in

Hell, where the damned enter a new body and finally die in Hell, passing to another birth and another state.[20]

CHAPTER IX

Relating other Beliefs and Arguments of the Thibettans concerning their System of Metempsychosis.

(*Ch. xxix in MS. B, pp.* 288–301 ; *Fl. MS. f°* 142–145.)

16. The Thibettans acknowledge no Supreme Judge who rewards the good and punishes evildoers. They assert that good men are rewarded according to their merits and evildoers punished according to their sins, without the intervention of a Supreme Ruler of the world. Merit and demerit have an innate power over rewards and punishments that can never fail. Thus the Thibettans illustrate the weight or lightness of bodies by the example of fire. If fire is restricted or stifled it dies down, but when the obstacle is removed it bursts forth anew[21] ; in like manner when the life of a virtuous man is ended, although no controlling Providence exists to aid him in obtaining reward, he obtains it by the sheer power of his merits. Likewise, if all impediments are removed, a stone will roll downhill by its own weight, and needs no helping hand. In the same way, when a sinful man dies, although there is no judge to pass sentence, the mere force of his own demerits condemns him to the punishment he deserves for his wickedness.

17. This irresistible force arising from merit and demerit, and producing reward and punishment, they conceive as operating in two ways. It may exert itself without the concourse of any subsidiary agent or material means. Thus, those condemned to hell, without any generation, by the mere strength of their demerit, find a body sensitive to pain and tortures, and thus also is produced the fire and the other

instruments of torture. This also applies to the abode of pleasure and delight. The second and more ordinary way is by means of concurrent causes and material means. The mere operation of merit and demerit is called Kiù [Gyu]; the concurrent causes and circumstances are called Kièn [Gyen]; through these different agencies is brought about the good which is the reward of virtue, or the evil which is the penalty of sin.

The causality of merit and demerit may delay its activity until the concurrent circumstances arise. Thus, in the generation of men and animals, it awaits for the first conception of the embryo to take place and in the same instant it becomes the determining factor in uniting the soul to the body corresponding with its merit. At other times, the said causality provokes directly the appearance and operation of the necessary circumstances. Thus they explain that certain events, apparently fortuitous, are really due to the primary cause which provokes them, namely the fatal necessity of merit and demerit.

18. The Thibettans acknowledge four kinds of natural births among living creatures. The first is to be born *ex semine*, or, as they say, *ex ventre*. The second is to be born *ex ovo*, the third to be born *ex putri*. The fourth is a different kind of birth, which they call Zuu-te-Kievá [Zū-te-kie-wa], or being born in an unnatural or miraculous fashion, as, for instance, a man being born from a flower, of which they cite various examples or fables; or being born without any efficient cause, but only because of their former deeds; among these are the births of the Itâa and of living beings born in any of the aforesaid Hells.

19. Having divided all living creatures into six species, which they frequently term six worlds, they believe that in these six species there are classes of living beings who, in their present condition, can never attain salvation, or avoid reincarnation into a

state of damnation. These are the Lhàs of the three classes already mentioned; the brute beasts; the Itâa; the damned in Hell; the men born in the island on the North of Zambuling, where they say there is neither Law nor Religion, and no Legislator is acknowledged; and all men born deaf and dumb who cannot be taught religion, or what constitutes goodness and virtue. These classes of beings are called Mikhombà, or impossibility of salvation, the opposite of Kêeà, or Kêe-den, a status admitting the capacity for salvation.

20. Besides the aforesaid six species of living beings who reap the reward of past deeds performed in previous transmigrations, they believe in a state called Partò [Bardo], intermediate between death and the subsequent rebirth. This generally lasts for seven days. When the soul passes into the state of Partò and leaves the body it has temporarily inhabited, it suffers various torments; but they are more imaginary than real, caused chiefly by self-esteem and affection for the body to which it was united. In this state the soul is said to be cognisant of the body it has quitted and of the birth to come. Those souls who, as a reward for virtue, are destined to become Lhà, Lhà-ma-in, or men, are enveloped in a subdued light, like the dawn, while those condemned to be born a brute beast, an Itâa, or in Hell, are in utter darkness. Although the time assigned, as I have said, for the duration of the state of Partò is seven days, if, ere that time has elapsed, any act of generation occurs between the living beings destined to reincarnate the soul into the state determined by its former deeds, it at once becomes incorporated; but if no such act takes place in the given conditions during those seven days the soul remains in the state of Partò for a longer period. When the time comes for the reincarnation of the soul it leaves the state of Partò for the place of generation in a most joyful mood if it is to be born into

one of the three states which are the reward of virtue, or moaning and lamenting if condemned to be born into one of damnation. At the moment of conception they say the soul sees the father and mother and is aware of what takes place. I could find no mention of a fixed abode for the souls in the state of Partò.[22]

21. The Thibettans believe that prayers, alms, sacrifices, and other good works done for the soul of the dead may benefit them ; not by preventing their reincarnation in the state merited by former deeds, but by obtaining some relief or repose either in the state of Partò, or in the state into which they have been reborn. Therefore this people say many prayers, perform many Korím [Ku-rim], give many alms and offer sacrifices for their dead.

22. According to the Thibettan doctrine the embryo passes through many formations ; such as the rudimentary stage, the beginning of the embryo, the simple embryo, the commencement of organization, etc. They, however, do not admit, as we do, that the soul enters the body when the embryo attains a sufficient organization, but declare that the soul enters at the moment of conception, and that it passes at once into the matter to which, they say, father and mother equally contribute.

23. They believe that after death the soul of every living being, whether in the state of Partò, or intermediate between death and the next birth, or during the formation of the body before the actual birth, is cognizant of its former life and of the good or evil deeds by which it has merited to be reborn ; it also knows its parents and the time and place of its conception. They add that until the actual birth it is perfectly aware of its growth and development. After birth no living being remembers anything about his past life.

24. This law is said not to apply to the Lamàs who are incarnated by their own express desire. Thus

they explain how it is that the Lamàs in their earliest childhood talk of what they did at such or such a time, when they impersonated such or such a former Lamà, as I have already said. The great Ciangiub-sem-baa, that is to say, men who have reached sanctity, but not the last stage of happiness and the San-ghiêe [Sangye], having obtained perfect omniscience and who are undergoing the last voluntary incarnation, are also entirely exempt from this law. In lives (or, rather, fables) written about such people, especially in the life of their Legislator Sciacchiá-Thubbá, they make him narrate an infinite number of his former births, as well as many former births of others.

25. Although the three states of Lhà, Lhà-ma-in, and man are said to be rewards of virtue and good deeds, the Thibettans do not admit them to be beatific states. First, because it is a question of merits or of demerits. Secondly, because although they are rewards of virtue, it is of the virtue called Sacêe [Sa-chen, *terrestrial*], and not of that termed Sá-mé [Sa-med, *not of this world*]. The first is said to be incomplete virtue mixed with and proceeding from passions, and exercised with a view to obtain temporal benefits. The second is infinite and unlimited virtue, exempt from any kind of passion. Thirdly, the said three states are not admitted to be states of beatitude because although riches, repose, and pleasures are enjoyed in them as rewards for good deeds performed in antecedent transmigrations, they are mixed with much pain, labour, and trouble. Fourthly, the chief reason why they are believed not to have reached the ultimate goal is, that although, as rewards for virtue, they enjoy what we conceive to be riches, repose, and pleasures, these in reality are pain, labour, and trouble.

26. The Thibettans deny what is believed in by most heathens in Asia (*India*), namely the transmigration of souls into plants or anything vegetable. It is true that occasionally they worship a tree; this, however, has

nought to do with transmigration, but is owing to the presence of some Lhà or Lhà-ma-in, who is present as *animus assistentis* and not as *animus animantis*.

27. They affirm that as every living being has had and will have an infinite number of reincarnations, though his individuality and personal entity will sometimes differ, his specific, distinct, identical nature and essence undergoes no change. Thus they argue in order to prove that although the personal entity be changed, memory of the past or former transmigrations may still be extant.

28. In addition to the six states, and the intermediary state mentioned above, they believe in an ultimate state ; asserting that although the births of every living being have no Ngnà-thà [Nga-tha, *time antecedent*], or finality, or a commencement *a parte ante*, yet they have Ccì-thà [Ch'i-tha, *future*], or finality *a parte post*. There is therefore no living being, however mean and lowly, who will not be able to attain the end of all his troubles and his transmigrations. To achieve this, they say, it is necessary to be purged of all sins and defects, especially of all passions. The living being then attains the state of Thamcé-Khienbà, that is omniscience or understanding of all things ; and then arrives at the state of Sanghiêe (*Buddhahood*), possessing eternal bliss.

29. They declare that no sin, save that of criminal anger, can cancel the merit of good deeds. On the other hand, the virtues called Sa-cêe and repentance may diminish sin, although they cannot extinguish it, and exempt the being from punishment in further transmigrations. The virtue Sá-mè, and especially the virtue by which a person becomes Ciangiub-sem-baa and devotes himself to secure the salvation of others, is said to extinguish all sins, however heinous.

30. The life of every living being is composed of virtue and sin, of good and evil ; thus after death the subsequent birth is either a reward for virtue or a

punishment for sin. To begin with, they state as an axiom a division of good or bad deeds, some of which will be rewarded or punished in the first transmigration after death, some in the second or in the third, and so on. They also say that if some virtuous deed be greater and more efficacious than any sin that has been committed, the next birth will be a happy one, to be followed by unhappy ones, according to the number of sins, and vice versa. Again, they declare that if the virtues and the sins are equal it will depend on the last deeds performed before death as to whether the reward comes first or the punishment.

31. They also divide virtues and sins into great or small, perfect or imperfect, that is to say dependent on free will or on extraneous circumstances. The first causes a change in birth, for better or for worse; the second does not influence a following birth, but only causes happiness or unhappiness in a future existence.

32. Good and evil deeds are also divided into two classes; those which are rewarded during the life in which they are performed, or in future transmigrations.

33. Finally, they assert that among the infinite number of living beings who have been, are, or will be, born unto this bottomless sea (as they call it) of transmigrations, some have already reached the end and attained the state of eternal bliss, and they are to be worshipped by all living beings and regarded as their only hope and refuge. These are divided into two classes, Ciangiub-sem-baa and Sanghiêe. The first are no longer in the necessity of being reincarnated through the agency of their passions, but have chosen of their own free will to be reborn innumerable times as men, in order to give laws to the world, and to help other living beings to escape from evil and avoid the pains of punishments. The second have finished not only compulsory, but also voluntary reincarnation, and after giving laws to the world have attained to eternal beatitude. The Thibettans believe that all

living beings must at length reach the state of Sanghiêe, when the world will be totally consumed by fire. This, briefly, is the Thibettan doctrine of the transmigration of souls.

CHAPTER X

Of the colossal and principal Error of the Thibettan Sect in denying that there is any Absolute Uncreate Being, or any Primary Cause of existing Things.

(*Ch. xxx in MS. B, pp.* 301–317; *Fl. MS. f°* 145–150.)

THE other capital error, source of all the false dogmas believed in by this people, is the absolute and positive denial of the existence of any God or of any uncreate and independent Being. The infernal enemy, with subtle artifice, has so adorned this monstrosity as to make it appear to them of most sublime importance, the final step towards perfection, and the only path leading to eternal bliss.

There are five stages in the path leading to salvation. The first is called So-soi Kieu rimbá [So-soi-kyé-né-rim-pa], in which stage are those who have not yet entered, but must be led into the path of salvation. The second stage is called Kiepú cciung-Ki rimbá, or the incipient class. The third is called Kiepú-n-bring-Ki rimbà [Kié-pu-ding-ki-rim-pa], or the proficient class. The fourth, Kiepú ccenboi rimbà [Kie-pu-chen-poi-rim-pa], or the attainment of perfection. The fifth and highest stage is Lhà-n-thong [Lha-'dong], or complete and supreme exaltation.

As to the first stage the devil, with diabolical cunning, began by leading his benighted followers into a bottomless abyss, where their eyes were dazzled by a light falling from above from the sublime and lofty place to which he promised to guide them. That they should clearly understand this he set before them an illimitable chaos and an immense fathomless sea

of endless transmigrations, as I have already stated in the explanation of the first error.

The second stage, of the incipient, contains various steps which lead up to the third.

(*a*) The first step is that if a person be reincarnated as a man, but not in the Northern Island which is devoid of Religion, or in any of the conditions stated in No. 19, he must humbly and with all his heart rejoice that after passing many centuries in the three states of damnation, he has had the good fortune to find himself in a state in which he may enter the path of eternal salvation.

(*b*) The second step is that he must be absolutely convinced that this is of urgent importance and that he must apply himself without delay to deserve it, or he may relapse again for innumerable centuries into states of damnation.

(*c*) The third step is that being exposed to so many perils he must choose a Lamá as his spiritual guide, and submit himself entirely to his teaching. The qualities of the ideal guide and disciple are admirably described.

(*d*) The fourth step is that he must divest himself of all earthly love or care for this life and for this world, and concentrate his thoughts on the life to come. He must reflect that he will die, and that his only salvation will be in the good deeds he shall have performed.

(*e*) The fifth step is that he must choose some advocate and object of veneration, and often invoke his aid. He must also learn what virtues are to be practised and what sins to be avoided, the rewards for the former and the punishments for the latter, so as to apply himself to practise virtue and shun vice. Then he must perform various penances; especially must he feel keen sorrow for the sins he has committed and make a serious resolve to amend his ways.

In the third stage of the proficient class, the person

must be convinced that although the three states of Lhà, Lhà-ma-in, and man are infinitely preferable to the three states of damnation, yet, being of this world and transitory, in reality they are grievous and troublesome. He must, therefore, dismiss all of them from his heart and not (as in the preceding stage) strive to be reincarnated in one of these three states, which are rewards of virtue, but turn his mind to higher things and apply himself to be delivered from the recurrence of transmigrations. He must reflect that the cause of all the misery inherent in transmigrations is the result of our own deeds, which are caused by our passions. Knowing this he must diligently seek to extirpate all desires. The most effectual way to do this is to enter Religion, or at all events to pray that in the next incarnation he may be born a Religious. Many Thibettan books treat admirably of these things.

In the fourth stage of perfection it is asserted that man, having at last succeeded in escaping successive transmigrations, must cultivate an ardent desire to persuade all other living beings to follow the same path and thus obtain eternal salvation. When endowed with such a desire he reaches the condition of Kié-puccen-bò [Kiè-bu-chem-po], or of Cian-giub-sem-baa, which is a state of sanctity, infinite merit, and omniscience bordering upon the supreme state of Sanghiêe. He must have patience, diligence, and fervour, be carnally indifferent, but charitable and loving to all living beings. Thus a real Cian-giub-sem-baa not only desires to deliver others from all ills and to lead them to repose and happiness but, forgetting himself, must for many centuries devote himself entirely to their good. To do this, although he is exempt from all passions and therefore from future transmigrations, and can aspire to attain eternal bliss, with heroic virtue he renounces all to serve living beings, and elects to be reincarnated during

innumerable centuries, and to suffer all the consequent pains and troubles in order to lead them to eternal beatitude.

In the fifth stage of supreme attainment the soul, having passed through the different stages, and being delivered from successive transmigration and purged of all those deeds which are the origin and cause of the troubles of existence, and having discarded the passions which are the cause of such deeds, and thus having destroyed their root, finally approaches this, the last stage. Thus their infernal Legislator, under the pretence of searching for the root, extirpates from the hearts of his followers the real and primary root of all things—the knowledge of God. This is fully set forth in the Thibettan classical books, and by their commentators and scholastics.

They say that all passions can be traced to lust and wrath, which originate solely in the natural tendency of man to look on some things as pleasing and on others as painful and unpleasant. Having ascertained this, they proceed to search for the roots of lust and wrath, and assert that they arise from man's innate conception that some things are pleasant while others are painful and unpleasant. Then, investigating the cause of such conception, they declare it arises from the illusion that all beings and things are endowed with a self. Having reached thus far they determine that all this must be extirpated from our hearts. To destroy lust and wrath, we must, they say, banish from our imagination the differences attributed to things pleasant and unpleasant, opportune and inopportune, and even the consciousness of self and of any other thing. Having attained to this, as a cause which no longer exists cannot yield any effect, and no effect can be produced without a cause, it is impossible for such a being to be exposed to any evil or trouble; he will therefore remain free from everything worldly, from everything variable or temporal,

and will then attain to impassibility and immortality, and arrive at the state of Sanghiêe and enjoy eternal and perfect bliss.

Their Legislator says that everything can be conceived in a material or in a mystical sense. The former is called Trang-ton, or Tranghee-ton [Draṅ-don, *result of sensations*] ; the second Ngnĕe-ton or Ton-tamba [Don-daṅ-pa, *pure, ideal expression*]. The first he declares is to be attributed to the innate ignorance of all living beings, who imagine that things are endued with those qualities which are perceivable by our senses. In the second sense he says things are conceived as non-existent and devoid of any self ; they are therefore not to be regarded as material, but as independent of any cause, and having no connection with any other thing. Having explained this, he adds that man must definitely lose all conception of himself, of his existence and of all things which appear to him to exist.

In numerous and prolix treatises he asserts that nothing exists because nothing has any essence by itself, and therefore nothing exists which is not Tĕn-cing-brĕevăre-n-giunvà [Ten-ching brel-bajung-ba], or unconnected, unfettered, and without correlativity.

Having established the axiom that when a perfect soul has arrived at such sublime elevation, and no longer thinks or converses according to the material but only according to the mystical sense, and is convinced that it has no existence, the principal and fundamental root of all passions which is the attractive and pernicious phantasm Tâ [Dag] or I, ceases to exist. Once this is abolished all other phantasms, such as Ta-Ki-và [Dag-gi-pa] or Mine, to Me, for Me, pleasing or displeasing to Me, and such-like, disappear. With these, lust, wrath, and all the passions they cause are eliminated, and with them the causes of transmigrations and all other troubles ; therefore the soul will attain the blessed state of Sanghiêe.

CHAPTER XI

Whether the Thibettans, while denying the Existence of a true God, recognize some fabulous Deity, or are devoid of any Knowledge of a God. (*Synopsis.*)

(*Ch. xxxi of MS. B, pp.* 317–323; *Fl. MS. f°* 152–154.)

THE Thibettans not only do not recognize, but they absolutely deny the existence of a Creator of the Universe or of a Supreme Lord of all things. In this they may be termed atheists. But one cannot say that they do not recognize some kind of divinity or acknowledge retribution of sins, and in a sense the immortality of the soul. Their temples contain statues and they make sacrifices in the temples and in private houses. But none of the images they venerate are believed to be divine or to possess creative power. Therefore, although the Thibettans theoretically and speculatively, *et reflexe*, not only do not admit but absolutely deny the existence of a Divinity, yet confusedly, in practice *et implicite* they do recognize it. I have already said they believe there must be certain objects that offer refuge and may be invoked. An object worthy of adoration and prayer is thus described by this people :

1 Possessing perfect bliss and exempt from all evil.
2 Omniscient, seeing and understanding all things.
3 Omnipotent, able to help all who appeal to him.
4 Finally, infinitely compassionate, excluding none, but doing good to all who invoke him. In whom can such perfection be found save in God ?

The Thibettans say no man can save himself from the consequences of evil doing, or from punishment, or attain virtue, and even less perfection ; all are in need of some object of refuge and prayer. Is not this an admission of the Divinity whose existence they positively deny ? According to their principles or axioms, although the world has existed *ab æterno* they cannot affirm that any of the so-called Saints

they adore and invoke have been Saints *ab æterno* because all have been subject *ab æterno* to transmigration until they succeeded in divesting themselves of all passions.

I could add many other reasons, for instance the theories of merit and demerit (in which perhaps they agree with the Manichees, who say that all evil things derive from a single evil beginning), reward for the smallest good, punishment for the smallest bad action, and a final, supreme, blissful, and immutable end to all reasonable beings. But this is not the place to attempt to convince the Thibettans of their errors. I only wish to make it clear that these blind people unwittingly admit and confusedly recognize the Divinity which they persistently deny in words.

CHAPTER XII

Concerning three Classes of Objects which the Thibettans worship and invoke, without admitting that they are in any way Divine.

(*Ch. xxxii, MS. B, pp.* 324–337 ; *Fl. MS. f°* 154–157.)

The Thibettans venerate and adore many objects which are included in the supreme concept Kŏn-Cciôà, which contains three classes : (1) Sang-hiêe-Kŏn-Cciôà ; (2) Cciŏó-Kŏn-Cciôà ; (3) Kendun-Kŏn-Cciôà [*the Buddhist Triad ;* Sang-gye, *or Buddha ;* Chho, *or Dharma, the Word ;* Sangha, *the Church*]. By these three classes they do not mean three separate and distinct objects merged into the one being, Kŏn-Cciôà, but three complex parts which merge into Kŏn-Cciôà, or rather to which is given the special title of Kŏn-Cciôà. This title is composed of two words, Kŏn, really Kon-bò [Kon-po], a rare precious thing of great value, and Cciôà, an excellent, perfect thing.

By the word Sang-hiêe-Kŏn-Cciôà the Thibettans mean all those who for innumerable centuries have passed through every iniquity and passion, and for

innumerable centuries have undergone infinite transmigrations until, having reached the state of Cian-giub-Sem-baa (Bôdhisatva), they are again incarnated as man, and for innumerable centuries have aided living beings to avoid evil and have finally attained the perfect bliss appertaining to the Sanghiêe [*Buddhahood*]. The Sang-hiêe-Kŏn-Cciôà, therefore, though worshipped and invoked, are not regarded as Gods, but as former human beings, brute beasts, or damned beings, who, after infinite torments, have by their own exertions been cleansed of all sins and passions, and have arrived at a state of eternal beatitude. The Sang-hiêe-Kŏn-Cciôà are therefore worshipped because the Thibettans believe that out of great compassion they can and will aid them to do likewise.

In order to worship the Sang-hiêe-Kŏn-Cciôà in a fitting manner, the three virtues of Y-ccĕ-Ki-têpà (Faith), Rĕ-too-Ki-têpà (Hope), Kâvee-têpà (Charity), must be exercised. Faith in the merits of the Sang-hiêe-Kŏn-Cciôà, in their perfections and their teaching. Hope in their aid. Charity of two kinds, affective and effective; the first consists in love of the Sang-hiêe-Kŏn-Cciôà, and delight in their perfection and felicity; the second in faithfully executing all their commands and worshipping them. To do this temples and statues must be erected, and prayers and sacrifices offered up.

The Thibettans abhor cruelty; sacrifices made to their Lamàs and idols are more in the nature of offerings and never horrible or bloody. Various are the things offered. Lamps, musical instruments, pièces of Chinese silk, gold or silver for the service in the temples, perfumes to burn before the idols, butter to feed the lamps, or branches of coral and other curiosities for the decorating of the altars. Barley, rice, wheat, flour, butter, flowers, fruit and such-like are the most usual offerings, afterwards given away as relics, or as blessed things. More

homely offerings consist of burning herbs, branches, or fragrant plants in front of the idols and in dedicating the first mouthful of food or the first sip of liquid to them. Thibettans would consider it disgraceful to eat or drink anything without first offering some to the idols from whom, they say, everything derives.

The word Cciŏó-Kŏn-Cciôà means the collection of all the laws given by the Sang-hiêe to living beings ere quitting this world. These are to be worshipped not only as gifts from the Sang-hiêe to living beings, but as efficacious means for delivering them from all evil and leading them to salvation.

While venerating all objects they believe to be contained in the word Cciŏó-Kŏn-Cciôà, the Thibettans worship all the laws they suppose to have been given to living beings by the Sang-hiêe, and especially those promulgated by their Legislator Sciacchiá-Thubbà [Çakyamuni]. They have 115 or 120 volumes called Kâa-n-ghiur [Kahgyur], which were translated long ago from the ancient scientific language of the Empire of Hindustan, or Mogol, as it is now called. These volumes are divided into three classes. The first is termed Dŏ ; the second, Dŏ-tè ; the third, Ngnâa, or Mantră. The first is chiefly a collection of fables in which their Legislator recounts an infinite number of his transmigrations, especially his last incarnation as Sciacchiá-Thubbà. The second principally treats of his religion, strongly advises that the world should be forsaken, exalts the religious life, and prescribes rules for the guidance of religious persons. The third class of books, fewer in number, teaches various superstitions and contains superstitious prayers. All these three classes of books are recognized by the Thibettans as Cciŏó-Kŏn-Cciôà, or laws given by their Legislator, Sciacchiá-Thubbà, whom they adore as a Sang-hiêe, and are copied at great expense, often written in gold on coloured pasteboard. They are richly ornamented and gilt, and are

kept in large carved, painted and gilt wooden bookcases which generally stand in the temples. Many butter lamps are lit and incense is burnt in front of the books. Offerings of pieces of white or coloured flowered silk are also made. People kneel, and with clasped hands prostrate themselves before the books as they do before the Sang-hiêes and other idols, kiss them and place them on their heads ; they have implicit and absolute faith in all that is contained in them. (*See Book I, Ch. XIV and Note* 30.)

The third word, Ke-n-dŭn-Kŏn-cciôà, signifies to the Thibettans the community of the faithful, or all those who faithfully follow the law of their Legislator, Sciacchiá-Thubbà, or any law of the Sang-hiêe-Kŏn-cciôà. In a restricted sense, however, the word only refers to those who have arrived, or will soon arrive, at becoming Kiépu-ccembó, or even Ciangiub-sem-baa, or are approaching perfect sanctity. The difference they make is that, while the Sang-hiêe-Kŏn-cciôà must be invoked and worshipped as being able to deliver men from ill and to lead them to supreme bliss, the Cciŏó-Kŏn-cciôà must be venerated and adored as efficient and moral means to liberate men from evil and enable them to attain eternal beatitude, and the Ke-n-dŭn-Kŏn-cciôà must be invoked as our fellow creatures, and as mediators and intercessors, who by their prayers will aid us to avoid evil and finally to reach eternal felicity.

Thus the Thibettans venerate and invoke first the Ciangiub-sem-baa, although they have not yet attained bliss with the Sang-hiêe ; secondly, some special Lhà and others not specified ; thirdly, the Lamà, their spiritual guide ; and fourthly, the Religious, as many of them are on the way to salvation. The same cult is paid to the Ciangiub-sem-baa and to the Lhà as to the Sang-hiêe, the difference being in the belief as to their attributes,

as explained above. To defunct and to living Lamàs, or spiritual directors, sacrifices and prayers are offered up, lamps are lit and incense burnt before their statues, and their relics are sought for and preserved. No special cult is paid to the ordinary religious, but they are treated with great respect and given frequent alms in order to obtain their prayers. From these explanations of what the Thibettans understand by the words Sang-hiêe-Kŏn-Cciôà, Cciôò-Kŏn-Cciôà and Ke-n-dŭn-Kŏn-Cciôà, it will be obvious that although they consider them worthy of being venerated and invoked, they do not at all look on them as divine.

[Father Desideri ends the chapter by comparing the concept and attributes of the three classes venerated by the Tibetans with the three persons of the Holy Trinity. He suggests that perhaps in former times some faint glimmer of the Christian doctrine may have existed among the ancient Indian people whose religion the Tibetans copied.]

CHAPTER XIII

Of the Thibettan Religion with regard to Morality, Virtue and Vice, and Rules of Conduct.

(*Ch. xxxiii of MS. B, pp.* 337–347 ; *Fl. MS. f°* 150–152.)

I SHALL now proceed to say something of their ethics.

Ten sins to be avoided are specified in the Thibettan religion. Three are of the body ; four of the tongue ; three of the heart. The corporeal sins are murder, lust and theft. Those of the tongue are lying, grumbling, reviling and using idle and lewd words. Those of the heart are coveting the goods of, or desiring to do evil to others, and secret dissent from the truths and maxims of their Law and Faith. They make a distinction in these sins between the object,

the intent, preparing to carry out the intent, and its actual execution. As to the sin of murder, killing an animal is as heinous an offence as murdering a man. The mere thought or the intention of committing a murder is regarded as a sin, even if the crime is not accomplished. Thus they specify as sins, taking weapons, preparing poisons, using spells and such-like things, attempting to kill a person or inducing others to do so. If the person or the animal attacked is not mortally wounded, but dies later, provided his or its death is a result of the attempt to murder, the sin is the same. Finally in this, as in all other sins, the pleasure felt in committing a crime is an additional and distinct sin.

The sins of lust are divided as follows: Sexual intercourse with an improper person, improper intercourse, intercourse in an improper place, and at an unseemly time. The improper persons specified are the mother, married or religious women, relatives, and finally self-abuse and intercourse between persons of the same sex. In all this they agree with our moral laws. As to the place, a temple, or the neighbourhood of a Ccióten, the presence of a Lamà, a Master, a Cian-giub-sem-baa, a Superior, a father or a mother, or a relation. As to the time, when the woman is in her menstrual period, is about to give birth to or is suckling a child, is ill, or when it is a day of fasting.

They distinguish simple theft from theft with violence; theft done by a person, or by others at his instigation. In theft is included the non-payment of debts, making fraudulent contracts, damaging the property of other people, and similar acts.

They divide all these into greater and lesser sins, occasional, and inveterate and habitual sins.

They specify virtues, as they do sins, into three of the body, four of the tongue, and three of the heart; but these are more negative than positive,

as they consist in abstaining from committing any of the above-mentioned sins. Advising others and inducing them to practise virtue is a virtue by itself. There are also positive virtues such as faith, hope, and charity, in addition to alms, prayers, compassion, diligence and fervour, contemplation, and others about which there exist many admirably treatises.

Besides the reward of virtue and good deeds after death, they admit that prayers may alleviate the punishment of their own and of other people's sins. They teach how to neutralize sins by penitence, especially by confession to a spiritual director, called Sciaa-yul [Shah-yul]. Virtues may be emphasized by a desire to have as many tongues and as many bodies as the minute portions of which their bodies are composed, in order to be able to exercise many virtues ; a desire to live for innumerable centuries in order to do good deeds, and thus assist all living beings ; and therefore to aspire finally to attain the state of Ciangiub-sem-baa and of Sanghiêe.

To achieve, preserve and increase these virtues, and especially to do away with all passions, their books strongly advise the cultivation of contemplation (Sam-den). The rules prescribing that they are not to give way to indolence or to be alarmed at difficulties and dryness are most excellent ; and they explain how to attain ecstatic, immobile, and abstracted contemplation. To accomplish this they endeavour to lead the mind into a state of total apathy and thus to extinguish all affections and all apprehension of any object, with absolute balance and neutrality, or rather suppression of judgment.

The Thibettans not only have treatises and admirable rules about contemplation, but many follow them. As I have already said, for two months every year the Lamás hold frequent conferences and preach to their monks, offering subjects for meditation. Others retire for a month or more every

year to some solitary place or to a cavern, where they pass the time in peaceful and tranquil contemplation, while others withdraw entirely from the world and give themselves up to perpetual contemplation.

Their Ethics treat principally of the capital vices which are the source of all other sins. They only admit five, which they call the five poisons of the soul. These are pride, immoderate love of things, anger, envy, and ignorance. The nature, causes, and possible remedies they describe much in the same manner as we do in our moral philosophy and in our ascetic books. By the second of the five poisons, or immoderate love of things, they principally mean lust, but also include avarice and gluttony. Ignorance they attribute to laziness. The only virtue I have not found mentioned in the many large volumes about their false religion is humility.

CHAPTER XIV

Concerning the Thibettan Legislator and of some of the Fables told about Him.

(*Ch. xxxiv in MS. B, pp.* 348–357; *Fl. MS. f°* 161–164.)

Among the objects venerated and invoked by this blind people are the Sang-ghiêe-Kŏn-cciôà, and the Ke-n-dùn-Kŏn-cciôà. Giam-yang [Jam-yang] and Sciacchiá-Thubbà, their Legislator, are the principal objects of worship among the Sang-ghiêe-Kŏn-cciôà. The first is said to have been a San-ghiêe, and his statues represent him seated cross-legged with flowers in his hands. On his right side is always placed a statue of Cen-ree-zij, on his left one of Torcĕ-pprúl [Dorje-prul]; of both I shall speak later. He is only mentioned incidentally in their books.[23]

The fables about the innumerable incarnations of their Legislator, Sciacchiá-Thubbà, would fill many volumes, so I shall only deal with his last

birth and incarnation, when they believe he finally quitted this world and attained eternal beatitude. Before speaking of this birth, before which he is supposed to have already attained the grade of Cian-giub-sem-baa, it will be well to quote what he says in one of the volumes of the Kâa-n-ghiur, in the fourth chapter of the book called Trin-lên-Sabbêe-n-dò [Drin-lan-sab-pei-do, *rewarded piety*], about the time, the place and how he reached the grade of Cian-giub-sem-baa, thus escaping all the labour and toil necessary to become a San-ghiêe. To a question about this matter from a King named Kaauee-Kiêepó, he answered : " My beloved son in the spirit, because of my great passions and the iniquities I committed in thoughts, words and deeds in former times in the innumerable centuries during which I was born and reincarnated, I was condemned to suffer for a long series of centuries in eight different hells successively. In the hell called Ahahà ; the hell Alalà ; the hell Azzazzà ; the hell of cauldrons of copper, the great hell of liquid and boiled copper ; the hell of black stones ; the largest and most horrible hell paved with black stones, and finally the hell of the fiery chariot. When I fell into this, the custodian named Aang, harnessed sometimes one, sometimes two, of the damned to the chariot, and seated himself in it with flaming eyes, spouting fire and smoke from his eyes, mouth, ears and nose. Very tall, hideous and jet black, he seized and beat me with an iron bar. Under such suffering I tried to pull the chariot. My companion, too weak to help, was at once attacked by Aang with a three-pronged lance and so wounded and beaten that his blood fell from him like rain. The poor wretch screamed and cried out from the awful pain and called out : ' Help, Oh my Father ; help, Oh my Mother ; Oh my Wife ; Oh my Children ; come to me.' My heart was filled with compassion for his sufferings and at that moment

I became possessed with the spirit of Ciangiub-sem-baa. Turning to Aang I implored him to have pity on the miserable creature, whereupon he seized the iron lance, the prongs entered my neck and I fell dead. Thus I not only escaped from the hell of the fiery chariot, but all my sins, for which I deserved to suffer the pains of hell for eight long ages of the world, were cancelled. He who dragged the fiery chariot is now before you; by virtue of my conception of the spirit of Ciangiub-sem-baa in a short time I attained the grade of San-ghiêe." Such are the absurd fables told by the Legislator of Thibet, which differ entirely from what he teaches in other places.

The Thibettans, accepting this fable, say that their Legislator, having arrived at the state of Ciangiub-sem-baa and therefore exempt from further incarnations, of his own free will elected to be born again. Being especially anxious to do good to the Lhà, he was reincarnated and lived a long time among the Lhà who abide on that part of Mount Ra-ab-ccenbó [or Ri-rab-ccénbò] called Kaa-n-den [Galdan]. Then, remembering our world, he looked down and saw how deplorable was its condition on account of the passions and sins of mankind. Seized with pity, he determined to descend to earth and be reborn as man in order to save men from evil and guide them to eternal felicity. In one of the many large volumes of the Kaa-n-ghiur, called Ngnon-bare-n-giunvee-n-dò [Ngon-bar-jung-pai-do], while describing how he looked down on the earth and resolved to leave Kaa-n-den and the happy life of a Lhà, and be reborn as a man, he uses such words and expresses such sentiments that it is as though the Devil himself was speaking in the guise and by the mouth of man, and had decided to behave like a monkey and imitate what our ascetics wrote about the decree of the Holy Trinity for the salvation of mankind, and the descent of the Holy Word, who accepted to become Man and be our Saviour

at the cost of his sufferings, his Passion and his Divine Death.

The Legislator then adds that he looked down five times on the earth in order to decide five details—the caste or tribe, the town, the time, the family, and the woman who was to give birth to him in human form. The particular gifts and perfections he sought in his future mother are another copy made by the said infernal monkey of what our ascetics say about the choice made by the Divine Word of the Holy Virgin who was raised to the great dignity of Mother of an incarnate God. Yet another copy is a pathetic speech in which, ere he is born as a Man for the good of mankind, he offers to endure affronts, suffering, pain, toil and anything that may lead to the desired result.

After specifying the five details and how he selected the caste or tribe of the Brahmans or priests; the town of Benares in Hindustan; the Royal Family of the Sciacchiá; and the woman who became his mother; he describes the fabulous marvels and prodigies of his conception. He then relates that, while in his mother's womb and when he was born, his knowledge, intelligence and will were perfect; that they being free from every stain, he emitted light which, imparted to his mother's womb, illumined her whole body. His birth was extraordinary and miraculous, for he had nought in common with ordinary men.

Just before he was born, his mother, walking the magnificent garden of her palace with many ladies of her court, saw a tree suddenly burst into bloom with beautiful and most fragrant flowers and was seized with a longing to pick some. As she raised her hand to pluck a flower her astonished attendants saw an opening in her flank from which, surrounded by rays of light, issued a lovely child. Thus without pain did she bear her son, Sciacchiá-Thubbà. At once there descended from the air a

multitude of Lhà, who received him with great rejoicing and songs to celebrate his birth. These are quoted by him and are suitable to a Saviour of the World.

He tells marvellous tales of his childhood; how, when he was taught writing, arithmetic, astrology and other matters, he left his masters far behind in the first lesson, and also excelled all in riding, and in games of skill and prowess. Later the King and Queen, his father and mother, married him to a lovely and accomplished Princess, but after a certain time spent in feasts and amusements, he awoke as from a dream, became aware that all is vanity, and resolved to abandon kingdom, father, mother, and wife, and devote himself to the salvation of the world. Tears and supplications were of no avail, so the King imprisoned him in a fortress surrounded with high walls, ditches, and bastions. He escaped in a miraculous fashion and the troops sent after him returned without discovering a trace of the fugitive.

Having thus cast aside all the trammels that bound him to the world, he hid in a solitary wild place where, in utter poverty, he applied himself to continual contemplation. When after many years of this austere life he began to preach, men and women, high and low, left their houses and the world, became his disciples, and entered the religious life. Finally, having converted an infinite number by his sermons, his example and the miracles he performed, and having established his law for the benefit of the living, he quitted this world and entered to eternal rest among the Sang-ghiêe-Kŏn-cciôà. This is what the credulous, foolish Thibettans believe about their Legislator, Sciacchiá-Thubbà, whose statues represent a man sitting cross-legged in a plain religious habit, a rosary in his hands, his ears pierced with large holes like the penitents of ancient and even of modern Hindustan, and his head shaved, as is the custom of the Religious and the Lamàs of those countries.[24]

CHAPTER XV

Concerning Cen-ree-zij and Urghien, two other Idols worshipped by the Thibettans.

(*Ch. xxxv in MS. B, pp.* 357–371 ; *Fl. MS. f°* 164–170.)

As among the Sang-ghiêe the Thibettans especially reverence and invoke the above-mentioned Giam-yang and Sciacchiá-Thubbà, so they exalt and venerate as Ciangiub-sem-baa two others called Cen-ree-zij [*Avalokiteśvara*] and Urghien Pêmà-n-giung-nee. [Urgyen *born from the lotus, a translation of the Sanscrit Padma Sambhava.*]

They declare that Cen-ree-zij reached the state of Ciangiub-sem-baa many centuries ago after labouring to convert many people in many lands, and that he finally undertook to cultivate Thibet which was still wild and uninhabited. He went to live on the mount, now called Potalà, the magnificent residence of the Grand Lamà of Thibet. While he was there a woman who had lost her way in those mountains appeared, and by his advice and order became the mother of the first men who lived in this country, as I have already related in speaking of the origin of the Thibettans as set forth in their books. Finally they say that, to teach and confirm them in the path of virtue and the eventual attainment of eternal bliss, he decided to be born and reborn as a man, always as the Grand Lamà of Thibet, for an infinite number of centuries to come. Accordingly they believe and assert that the Grand Lamà of Thibet is their great advocate Cen-ree-zij, who for love of them and for their salvation returns in successive reincarnations. Potalà has therefore been assigned as the residence of the Grand Lamà, and is dedicated to Cen-ree-zij as his chief temple. He is sometimes figured as I have described above and also with several heads and arms, an allusion to some fable they have learned from

the ancient inhabitants of Hindustan ; he is thus worshipped as their special protector as well as a Ciangiub-sem-baa.

The other idol much reverenced in Thibet is the above-mentioned Urghien Pêmà-n-giung-nêe. The word Urghien indicates that his name is composed of two words U and Kien, which are not pronounced Ukien as they are written, but Urghien. U means head, Kien a jewel or ornament for the head. The other words Pêmà-n-giung-nêe are derived from a marvellous fable related in his Life, one of their most popular books. It is said to have been dictated to him by an attached disciple named Zzó-ghiel [Tsho-kye], daughter of Teù-zen-si-Kiong [Thi-song De-tsen], an ancient King of Thibet. It is written that after infinite transmigrations he at last reached the state of Ciangiub-sem-baa when, out of zeal for the salvation of others, he determined to undergo another series of reincarnations. In one of these he chose to be born in marvellous fashion of a flower called in Hindustani Camel pul [Kamal Phul], and in Thibettan Pêmà [Padme], which grows in large pools or lakes, like a sort of water-lily (*lotus flower*) ; it is partly white, partly pink, has a long stalk and large leaves—thus the words Pêmà-n-giung-nêe mean born of the flower Pêmà. The fable is as follows.[25]

Long ago there lived an exceedingly rich and powerful King named Indrà-boddí. His kingdom was large, his subjects innumerable, and his name widespread. Nevertheless he was miserable, for he had no son to succeed to his throne, and he wept so incessantly that he became blind. At last he heard of a jewel called Y-sgin-norbù [Yi-shin-norbu] ; or jewel which grants every desire. A long voyage was necessary to get it, and only men of great courage who cared not for their lives were allowed to embark on the ships with the King. When the fleet had sailed over many seas and got beyond the Sea of Milk, a great

mountain of emerald appeared, and the King's sight improved ; then was seen one of silver, and at length one of gold, when he regained his sight completely. Disembarking with a few followers who understood jewels, the King climbed to the top of the mountain where stood a magnificent palace. Resolutely, yet reverently, he knocked at the door, which was opened by a beautiful maiden who silently withdrew and returned laden with all sorts of precious stones which she poured into a corner of the King's mantle with a deep sigh, and then vanished. The King, on returning to the ships, was received with joyous shouts, and the jewels were carefully examined by the experts, who at last found the famous Y-sgin-norbù. Kneeling, the King kissed it, and distributed all the other precious stones among his followers. Sails were set, the seas formerly crossed retraversed, and as the fleet re-entered the Sea of Milk some of the retinue espied flowers, now floating, now high out of the water, now open, now closed. They told the King, who, astonished, ordered boats to be lowered and sent his most trusted Ministers to see the wondrous sight.

They reported that on the tallest and most beautiful flower was seated a very lovely boy. Whereupon the King at once got into the boat, was rowed to the flower and exclaimed: "How is it you are here, oh ! charming boy, so dear to my heart ; what is your name ; what land had the fortune to rear you ; tell me where are the parents of so lovely a child ; and what do you here?" To these questions the boy replied in a mysterious manner, but every word sank deep into the heart of the King and made him long to have the child as his own. He then remembered the jewel Y-sgin-norbù. Taking it in his hands he prayed that if it really had the power to grant every wish, it would grant him what he so ardently desired. With the utmost tenderness he begged the boy to accept him as a father, to come with him and to be

the heir of his Kingdom and of his Crown, which he decided even then to place at his feet. With infinite grace the child consented and accompanied the King to the ships, and they at once set sail to the port they had left so long ago. The return of the King and the advent of an heir to the throne were hailed with intense joy by the Queen and the people. Seated on a high throne the King prayed the jewel Y-sgin-norbù to celebrate so happy a day by granting the desires of all who had welcomed him back with such affection. The words were hardly spoken when from above fell clothes to cover the naked, food for the hungry, and a rain of jewels and precious stones as a remembrance.

For some years the new son was the delight and joy of the palace, but he suddenly became melancholy and shunned all society. In despair the King consulted his Ministers and the wisest men of all the Kingdom as to what could be done to restore the lad to his usual health and spirits. The advice of the oldest Minister that a bride should be found for the Prince, pleased the King and the Queen ; a deputation waited on the Prince and begged him to write down a name, or at least to state the qualities he desired in a bride. They found him in a forest, alone and sad, but when they gave him the King's message his face brightened. "I have no special bride in my mind," he replied, "I will write a few words to my father, and when such a maiden is found I shall regain health and spirits. Here, take this." The King read his son's missive and at once sent messengers to try and find a perfect Princess. After visiting many countries they arrived at the court of a great King, where a pageant was being performed by all the most lovely maidens, and among them was the daughter of the King. Joyfully they felt their quest was ended and that in her was every quality their master could desire. Approaching the Princess they told her how the King Indrǎ-boddí had sent them to seek a wife for his only son, and that

after many disappointments they had now found a Princess worthy of such a Prince. Sighing deeply and weeping the lovely maiden replied: "Alas, you are too late. I should have been only too happy to become the bride of a Prince whose equal does not exist, but my father has affianced me to the son of a mighty King, and in a few days I shall leave for his Court where the marriage is to be celebrated. Oh! how gladly would I change for your Prince! Nevertheless, go, pray and supplicate my father to take back the promise given to one I do not love." The messengers hurried off to the King, who, while expressing his sense of the honour such an alliance would bring to his house, said he could not and would not break his word. Cast down by this answer the messengers returned to King Indră-boddí and the Prince with the bad news, and a vivid description of the beauty and charm of the Princess. The King was in despair, not so his son, who exclaimed: "Go, make all haste; what my father's position and your prayers could not do, force shall accomplish. Go at once and as the Princess leaves her father's house to be married to the other Prince, seize her and bring her to me. Do not fear resistance, iron filings under your nails will be sufficient, none can withstand us, and my heart's desire will be fulfilled." The messengers started at once. As the Princess left her father's palace with a long train of attendants she recognized them and made signs, whereupon they fell upon those around her, put them to flight, and carried off the bride. She was received with great joy by King Indră-boddí, and the marriage was celebrated with splendid festivities.

CHAPTER XVI

Relating the Continuation of the Story of Urghien.

(*Ch. xxxvi in MS. B, pp.* 371–381 ; *Fl. MS. f°* 170–175.)

HAPPINESS reigned at the court and the young Prince was gay and charming as before, when a voice from on high uttered these words: "What are you doing, Urghien ? Did you take the heroic resolution to quit the repose and perfect joy of Kanden only to enjoy the grandeur of a magnificent Court and the embraces of a lovely bride ? Are you blind to the vices in which living beings are engulfed ? Do you not see the unbridled passions burning in every heart ? Why do you not hasten to the rescue ? Why do you not help a world which is fast going to perdition ?"

These words struck Urghien's heart like a thunderbolt ; he decided to abandon parents and wife, and dedicate himself to the regeneration of the world. He said farewell to his wife, who clung to him with loving arms, and to his parents who with tears entreated him not to leave them. Cries and lamentations resounded everywhere, the only imperturbable and quiet person was Urghien. Turning to his parents he said : "Now I am your real son ; for I go to be the father of a whole world which is bereft of help." To the courtiers and servants: ' My example will show you that he who leaves all, gains all ; real love is shown, not by transitory gifts, but by procuring eternal beatitude for others." Addressing the crowd of sorrowing people, he declared: "Only now can I deserve the hopes you repose in me, as I shall strive to procure for you real liberty ; I shall rule you better as by my example I teach you how to rule yourselves, to discard the yoke of passions, and attain to the highest virtue, which is compassion, and thus become a Ciangiub."

When the day of departure arrived immense

crowds, not only from the Royal City but from the uttermost parts of the Kingdom, were gathered together to take a last look at their beloved Prince who was so soon to leave them. Streets, squares, windows, balconies, and roofs were all too small to contain the mass of people who longed to see that Sun ; which would appear more splendid in their eyes because, shorn of all royal splendour, he was to appear in the squalor of half-naked poverty. On a balcony of the royal palace stood young Urghien alone ; instead of the purple royal mantle he was barely covered with ragged linen and a torn woollen cloak. All gaiety and grace had disappeared. He was stern, with eyes fixed on the ground and immovable hands and arms. There was no movement in the crowd, not a whisper could be heard ; all eyes were fixed on Urghien, who bare-headed, half-naked, pale, with bare feet, held a skull in his left hand, a flaming sword and a rough, rusty spear in his right. Sighs and sobs burst from the people who still hoped the Prince, seeing how much they loved him, might change his mind.

But suddenly, as they were gazing tearfully at him, he moved. The flaming sword cleft the air and pierced a man, followed by the three-pronged spear which killed a woman and her baby. Screams and imprecations rose from the flying crowd who feared that other murderous weapons would be hurled at them, and loudly they called for justice and the punishment of the assassin. A body of royal ministers entered the secret apartments of the palace, reached the balcony, seized the murderer and led him before King Indră-boddí. "Justice, justice," they cried, "and vengeance. This infamous traitor deceived the people whose only fault was loving him too much ; to make sure of his atrocious misdeed he clothed himself in the habit of a penitent which has never inspired fear till now." In vain the King tried to prove his son was innocent, praised his many virtues and assured them

that it must have been an accident; then weeping bitterly implored them to have mercy. All he could obtain was the commutation of the sentence of death into one of exile. As Urghien left, his father embraced him tenderly and put a beautiful pearl into his hand. "Take this, my son, if you are ever in straits it may be of use." Urghien refused, put the pearl into his father's right hand, while he took his left and spit on to the palm. "Accept, my dear father, this other pearl, a copy of the one you deign to offer me, and from it learn that he in whose breast lies the joy of innocence, and whose heart is full of virtue, will never be in want." As he spoke the spittle in his father's hand changed into a pearl exactly like the one he had refused. The King was so astounded that he remained immobile as a statue, as Urghien disappeared and went away to a foreign land called the Kingdom of Sahor.

There he made a poor hut of boughs and twigs, and solaced himself with almost continual contemplation and making plans for saving whole nations from vice and leading them to eternal salvation. One dark night a murderer passed by the hut, and placed his sword, dripping with the blood of his victim, near the door. Next day, after long searching, it was found by the officers of justice who, persuaded that Urghien was the culprit, seized and took him before the King and his ministers. He was condemned to be burnt alive, and orders were sent to the inhabitants of the city to bring wood for a pile and some oil. The supposed assassin was tied to a stake; the wood was set on fire and dense smoke obscured the sky. When the flames died down the people thought the ashes of the supposed murderer would be mingled with the wood ashes, but to their infinite astonishment they beheld him sitting cross-legged, unharmed and smiling, with sparkling eyes, on an immense and beautiful flower. Amazed the crowd rushed back to

the city and spread the news, which soon reached the King's ears. At first he thought it was an invention of credulous idle people, or of silly children, but at last decided to investigate the matter himself. He went, looked, and still did not believe. Going nearer and gazing intently, he exclaimed : " What is it that fascinates my eyes, what occult fraud deceives me ? " Approaching still nearer he rubbed his eyes again and again and looked, till, all doubt vanishing, he burst into tears, fell on his knees, and worshipped the unknown pilgrim. He entreated him to say who he was and whence he came, begged him to come to his palace and offered him the throne and the Kingdom. " All these gifts and splendid offers be thine, O King," said Urghien, " accept for thyself and thy people the good I have come to do." After imparting most valuable instructions and making the road leading to virtue easy for them to follow, as a good agriculturist gathers the plentiful harvest, fruit of his past labour, he, seeing the benefits accruing to such a multitude of people, rejoiced at the affronts and contumely he had suffered, and turning his thoughts to new and greater conquests quitted the kingdom of Sahor.

Another time, being tired and faint from thirst, he entered a shop in a place unknown to me, asked for some beer and sat down to rest. It was getting late, and having no money he said to the mistress: " I am poor, 'tis true, but I am honest ; for the moment I have nothing, but to-morrow, after begging from door to door, I shall return and pay you." " No excuses," replied she, " and no promises. You will not leave this house until you pay. I know nothing of to-morrow or of alms, and if you have not paid your bill ere the sun sets I shall go to the judge and you will see how things are settled here." In vain Urghien reasoned with her, she shut her ears to him. Finding all explanations and excuses useless, he promised to

pay before sunset if she allowed him to go for a short time to the town, on the understanding that if he did not return ere the sun went down she was to summon him before the judge. As the sun was fast sinking the woman laughed and gave him permission to go. Urghien asked for a long iron nail that was in the shop and drove it into the floor where the last rays of the sun were falling. "Stay, O gracious planet," he exclaimed, "and do not move until I return with what I owe." He then went into the town and begged. Meanwhile the citizens, seeing the sun immovable in the sky, became alarmed, ran hither and thither, and at length, hearing of the mendicant Pilgrim, hastened to offer him presents. He would only accept what he owed the mistress of the shop, who, falling at his feet, not only refused to be paid but offered him her house and all her possessions. As he pulled out the nail the sun sank to the West.

After traversing various countries, Urghien arrived in Hindustan and lived in divers Tur-tró or cemeteries, where unknown he gave himself up to continual contemplation for several years until, thinking of the good of others, he started again on his travels and visited several provinces and Kingdoms of that Empire. By preaching in public, and by other means, he made war on vice and ignorance, and turned the hearts of the people to virtue. At length he settled in a town anciently called Torcĕ-tén [Dor-je-den], which, according to the descriptions given in Thibettan books, must be the famous city now known as Benares, or some place near by (*see note* 17). There he taught this false religion, and, recognized as a supreme oracle, attracted innumerable disciples and followers from the most distant parts of the Empire, who submitted to his teaching and discipline.

The kind reader must excuse me if in the two preceding and some following chapters I have been and shall be somewhat prolix in recounting the fables

about Urghien. I wished to give a rather detailed account of what the Thibettans believe about their principal idol, and also an idea of the style of the book in which I found these stories.

CHAPTER XVII

How Thibet anciently had no Laws, and how the King Tri-kiongh-teú-zén sent Embassies to various Countries and a chosen Body of Youths to Hindustan in search of a Religion.

(*Ch. xxxvii in MS. B, pp.* 381–388 ; *Fl. MS. f°* 175–178.)

Since time immemorial there had been no sort of religion in the kingdom of Thibet, the inhabitants were like brute beasts, undisciplined, ignorant, riteless, without laws, and disobedient to the Kings who tried to rule over them. When Urghien was at Torcĕ-tén the King of Thibet, called Tri-kiongh-teú-zén [Thi-song De-tsen], was a man of great intelligence and sagacity, large-hearted and liberal ; in short, possessed of all the qualities which make a good ruler. Hearing that temples existed in other Kingdoms where a power greater than any existing on earth was worshipped, he was seized with a desire to introduce such laws into Thibet and to found a Religion. He sent envoys to Sahor and ambassadors to China who all sent word that what he wanted must be looked for in the Empire of Hindustan. The Head of the Religion of that vast country lived there and many universities existed ; laws were explained, people were obedient, ritual was observed and masters were obeyed. The fame of a great teacher named Urghien was spread abroad, and if the King desired to carry out his admirable intention, the best would be to send ambassadors and beg him to come to Thibet and establish his Religion which had borne such splendid fruit in Hindustan. No doubt the prayer would be favourably received

as Urghien had already visited many Kingdoms and taught his religion to numberless peoples. Thereupon King Tri-kiongh-teú-zén resolved to make every effort to attain what he so ardently desired, and ordered the most robust, intelligent and obedient youths to be selected from the different provinces of Thibet and sent to him. In glowing words he explained his intention, exhorted them not to fear the long journey, the intense cold, nor the fierce heat of other climes, the dangers of a long disused road, the differences in customs and ideas of unknown nations, the difficulty of learning foreign languages, and the pain of leaving their homes and their parents and being perhaps insulted and despised by a strange and insolent people. He bid them think of the glory, the applause, and the everlasting memory which would accrue to their country, their families and themselves, and assured them that he would recompense them munificently for their hard work and fatigue. Then distributing garments, provisions and packets of gold dust, he deigned to embrace them all with paternal affection, and exclaimed: "Go, may good fortune attend you, and on your return to our Thibet may you bring in triumph the Religion I so ardently desire."

The noble company of youths traversed rugged mountains, great snowfields, and met with terrible adventures; several died on the way, but at last the survivors arrived in Hindustan and applied themselves to learning the language and studying the difficult books; then they returned to Thibet to give the first information about the desired Religion. The King at once chose other youths and sent them with a quantity of gold to Torcĕ-tén where they placed themselves under the direction and discipline of Urghien, studied the language, the doctrine, rites, and ceremonies, and returned to Thibet where they were received with universal rejoicing. The King's heart was made glad, and he was never tired of hearing about

the new doctrine and the unknown ceremonies, and listened with avidity to the books of the longed-for religion.

But his joy was not to last long. The Doctors and Masters who had most distinguished themselves in learning when in Hindustan lived in impenetrable seclusion in apartments in the royal palace; no one visited them or assisted at their prayers and occult sacrifices. Impelled by feminine curiosity the Queen with some of her favourite ladies determined to see what was happening. Softly they stole to the door and listened, but understood not a word. Gazing through a crack they waited and their curiosity was fully satisfied. They saw men's heads streaming with blood set up against the wall. In spite of the horrible sight they looked again, and saw freshly flayed men's skins which served as cushions for these sorcerers; they saw . . . But no, whoever has any vestige of humanity can never repeat or listen to what with horror and agony they forced themselves to look at. With staring eyes, pale faces, trembling in every limb, and unable to speak, they rushed away appealing by gestures to all they met to seize the evildoers. As soon as speech returned they told the King and demanded the punishment of the infamous sorcerers. In vain he tried to excuse and protect them. When one or two women know anything it is at once known to all the world. An excited and furious mob, together with the nobles, assembled and, in the presence of the King, demanded immediate condemnation of the offenders; the magistrates met and pronounced the sentence which was at once executed by the angry people. The sorcerers were seized, their heads shaved, and they were dragged out of the city, kicked, beaten, denounced as murderers, and then exiled. Soon all who had been to Hindustan shared the same fate and went forth to perpetual banishment. It seemed as though heaven out of compassion for the pious King

and the simple Thibettans desired to warn them against drinking poisoned water and to urge them to search for a pure and undefiled spring.[26]

CHAPTER XVIII

How the false Religion was brought to Thibet. The first Temple erected in the Kingdom, Books translated, Monasteries founded and every Art used to disseminate that Error.

(*Ch. xxxviii in MS. B, pp.* 388–402 ; *Fl. MS. f°* 178–192.)

A SHORT-SIGHTED and inexperienced man feels a pain in his hand, but does not perceive that the red and fragrant rose which he was tempted to pick is armed with thorns. Thus the hearts of the unhappy King and the unfortunate Thibettans were pierced by the horrible deeds of the infamous magicians, but they failed to understand that the Master was the one to fear, and that under the colour of religion and the fragrance of prayers, temples and sacrifices, lay hid error and malefic thorns.

They sent ambassadors to Urghien with magnificent gifts and humble letters, entreating him to come in person and assume control of all Thibet and found the Religion they so much desired. He replied courteously promising to come, and soon started on the long journey. After traversing the kingdom of Nepal he entered the unfortunate land he was to render so miserable. On approaching the Capital, his pride was aroused. " Am I," said he to himself, " to be treated thus ? Invited, nay entreated to come here, the arrogant King does not deign to meet me. No nobles are sent to receive me who am to be the master, guide, and oracle, not only of the people, but of the nobility, and of the King himself." For several months he did not stir, until at last the impatient King quitted his Capital with a splendid retinue. Urghien then slowly advanced with knitted brows, and they drew nearer

to each other. But the King reflected: "If I am Lord of the country, he should be the first to salute me," while Urghien haughtily said to himself: "If I am Master, Oracle, and well-nigh Legislator, ere I deign to move, people, nobles, and King must bow down and worship me." Then he exclaimed: "O King of mountains and snow, O nobles of famine and dearth, submit ye all to my power, miserable offspring of wild monkeys." Pointing to heaven he shouted aloud: "Hù!" and again "Hù!" imperiously. Black clouds obscured the sky, thunder resounded in the mountains, vivid flashes of lightning and a fearful tempest broke over the terrified people. The King and his attendants dismounted, prostrated themselves and entreated him to forgive them. His pride was satisfied, and lifting his finger he murmured a few unintelligible words, whereupon the tempest died down, and he rode on the King's right hand, followed by an applauding crowd, to the Capital. There he was installed in the royal palace, and seated on a magnificent throne, was greeted with great honour and pious respect.

After some days passed in rejoicings and festivities to celebrate the advent of the ardently desired Master, the King knelt before him with rich presents and humbly begged that what he had longed for should be accomplished, and that he might see Religion established in his country and know that he could leave his people happy and contented. Urghien replied that first a large and splendid Temple must be erected, built to last for centuries, and that the proper site was a place called Sam-yêe. Thither they went with a great company, and Urghien gave the design and ordered the necessary materials, while the King summoned workmen of every description, appointed managers, and himself superintended the work. Whole forests fell under the axe, huge blocks of stone were moved, and the noise of hammers was

as though Vulcan had set up his anvils. Copper, bronze, gold and silver were melted in large furnaces, life-like statues were carved and excellent pictures were executed. It would be tedious to describe the magnificence and riches of a temple which, after so many centuries, still excites the admiration of all beholders. After the building was finished it was dedicated with great pomp and solemnity amid the acclamations of an innumerable crowd. To this day the idolatrous people still venerate the Temple, and pilgrims from distant provinces, and even from foreign countries, come there to worship. When they first see it from afar they fall prostrate, and on arrival light many lamps and burn spices and rare incense. Sacrifices are frequent, and costly gifts are brought or sent by willing hands. In short the cult and veneration of the temple of Sam-yêe lasts to this day, although it is situated in one of the most savage parts of Thibet.

Another plan adopted by Urghien to establish his Religion was to obtain fron Hindustan the hundred and more volumes which, as I have already stated, are known as Kaa-n-ghiur, or the translated oracles, and are regarded by these Infidels as we Catholics regard the Canonical books of Holy Writ, as well as numerous other volumes called Ten-ghiur [Tangyur], which are like our Commentaries on Scripture, moralistic, controversialist, or scholastic. All these at great expense the King got from Hindustan, had them translated into the Thibettan language and copied in large script ; the principal ones have golden letters and are richly adorned. For these he built a large library by the monastery of Sam-yêe. Many of these volumes are extant to-day in print, and innumerable copies of them all are kept in the libraries of temples, monasteries, and public universities. I must not omit to mention that besides the great Temple and library, the King built at Sam-yêe sumptuous palaces for himself, the Guru Urghien, and the numerous

PLATE X

Photograph, C. Antilli

LIBRARY CONTAINING THE CANONICAL BOOKS IN THE MONASTERY OF TIKSE, LADAK [*face p.* 278

religious who served the Temple. These have been enlarged and beautified by successive Kings, Lamás, benefactors.[27]

The third, and I think the most important method Urghien adopted for establishing his Religion firmly in Thibet, was founding numerous monasteries and convents. As I have already spoken fully about these, I will only add that had he neglected this I believe the Sect instituted by him would not have attained to so permanent and lasting a position in Thibet.

The fourth was in visiting in person all the provinces and outlying places in Thibet where he taught the people and erected temples. He also passed some time in desert and secluded spots where hidden from every eye in inaccessible caverns on the side of precipitous rocks, in discomfort and want he would spend months or even years praying, as he declared, for all, but especially for his beloved Thibet, not only for the present, but for the far-off future. Such horrible caverns are frequently met with in Thibet, and are still reverenced by this people in memory of their beloved Master. Some are visited by pilgrims, others are inhabited by hermits, or have been converted into temples or chapels to which are annexed monasteries whose inmates lead an austere life. Thus the astute Urghien with so-called miracles and illusions deceived the simple credulous people and strengthened their belief in his false Religion.

But I must now recount what, when first I arrived in Thibet, I took to be a jest and laughed at, but which later induced me to bow my head to the ground, adore the supreme inscrutable Providence of God and repeat the words of the Holy Prophet David: *Justus es, Domine, et rectum iudicium tuum.* The judgments of God are, indeed, incomprehensible but adorable. You must know that among the many books which are in general use in Thibet two in particular deal with what I have been mentioning.

The name of one is Lungh-tèn, or the prophecies of Urghien ; this was the first that was translated to me word by word when I began to study the Thibettan books soon after my arrival at Lhasá. The second book which I studied and caused to be explained to me word by word contains the life of Urghien. The first book and some chapters of the second contain, in the form of a dialogue between the King and Urghien, a series of prophecies of the latter as to what would happen in Thibet during successive centuries. I read them in 1716 and they had been written a very long time before. One was in manuscript, the other was printed. The first of the many prophecies was that Tartars of Lower Tartary would become masters of Thibet. Secondly, that the country would be invaded by Tartars of Upper Tartary. Thirdly, that the latter would sack and ruin the land and send all the spoils to their own country. Fourthly, that they would murder many religious and Lamás, destroy monasteries and convents, profane temples and commit other horrors. Fifthly, that the King Cinghes-Khan would be killed with his whole family. Sixthly and lastly, that China would attack, defeat the tyrannical usurpers and conquer the Kingdom. The first prophecy was fulfilled some time ere I arrived in Thibet, as King Cinghes-Khan was a Prince of Lower Tartary and his courtiers and army were natives of that kingdom. The second came true in 1717, and the third, amid universal lamentation, partly in 1717, partly in 1718. The fourth was but too well fulfilled during the years 1718–1719–1720 and 1721 to the grief, tears, and horror of the Thibettans. The fifth came true in 1717 and 1719 to my intense sorrow, and marked the end of all my hopes, founded on the evident inclination and good disposition of King Cinghes-Khan to aid me in establishing our Holy Faith in the Kingdom. The sixth, concerning events about which I have written before, came true in 1719 and 1721. These are facts.

Let every one explain so abstruse a mystery according to his own feelings ; for my part I believe that God in His infinite wisdom made known future events to the demons either after or at the time of their fall. Thus did God predict to the crafty serpent at the creation of the world that hatred would exist between him and the sons of Adam and that he would be defeated by a woman: *Ponam inimicitias inter te, et mulierem, et semen tuum, et semen illius: ipsa conteret caput tuum.* Tradition tells us that God spake to the fallen angels telling them that as punishment, and to their eternal ignominy, men, their inferiors, would now occupy the seats destined for them.[28]

Besides the above-mentioned methods for the establishment of his religion in Thibet, Urghien resolved to make himself absolute ruler of Thibet for a time. The first day of the year was always celebrated with great pomp and festivities by the Thibettans and King Tri-kiongh-teù-zèn commanded that, besides the illumination of the temple, of his palace and of the city, the great road, which still exists, leading to Sam-yêe should be decorated and splendidly illuminated, in order that he might show himself to his beloved people with a great following of nobles on horseback. He then humbly entreated Urghien to grace the festival with his presence, but he met with a curt refusal. Urghien also strongly advised that the cavalcade should be countermanded. The King replied that his advice had always been reverently received and his commands executed, but that for once he must beg to be excused. Urghien persisted, and had almost succeeded in persuading the King, when the remonstrances and solicitations of the courtiers induced him rather unwillingly to yield to them. Mounting a splendidly caparisoned charger and surrounded by his nobles he had only advanced a few paces when, amid the joyous music of many bands and the loud applause of the people, an arrow from

some unknown bow struck the King, who fell mortally wounded. A hundred arms were stretched to succour him, and with sobs and loud cries of " Woe ! Woe ! " he was carried senseless to the palace. Urghien hastily dismissed all the people, the nobles, ministers and servants, and remained alone to witness the bitter grief and the death agonies of an unhappy and betrayed King. Urghien now began to play his part. Appearing from time to time in the anteroom, composed and cheerful, he bid the sorrowing vassals and servants to hope for the best. Later he announced that the King has passed a quiet night and slept soundly. Another day he told the anxious inquirers that he was out of danger and would soon see them. Moreover, in the name of the King, he answered dispatches, dispensed pardons, gave orders, and ratified or annulled sentences. The time had long passed when the King was expected to break his long seclusion, but wily Urghien invented the pretext that having been thus attacked he would trust no one until the miscreant had been discovered and delivered into his hands. For several years Urghien invented lie after lie until the whole administration of the country was in his hands and depended on his will and pleasure. Then summoning the magistrates, ministers, and representatives of the provinces, with simulated tears, he presented to them the young heir to the crown and announced the death of King Tri-kiongh-teú-zén. Setting the Young Prince, who was acclaimed with joy mixed with sorrow, on the throne, he ceded the pomp of royalty while keeping the real power in his own hands.[29]

By such arts and stratagems during a hundred and eleven years, showing no outward change, ever the same stately and kindly youth (as is affirmed in the various Histories and ancient Memoirs of Thibet) did Urghien found and establish his Religion in Thibet. Finally one day in the presence of the

King (the son of the late Tri-kiongh-teú-zén), the magistrates, a large number of religious who had been summoned and a great concourse of people, he stated that having several times visited and given instruction to the whole Kingdom, the appointed time had now come to cease labouring for the good of a people so dear to him. He aimed higher than to benefit one Kingdom or to limit his teaching to a few countries; he was not satisfied with the light of a small lamp to illuminate a room, or a torch to give light to a house; even the splendid rays of the sun did not content him unless they illuminated the universe. He was impatient to obey the call to go to the aid of other blind, ignorant, and infidel nations. In vain King and people, high and low, with tears and supplications tried to detain him. He was immovable, and only replied by announcing the day of his departure. Accompanied by the King, the nobility, the magistrates and so vast an army of monks and people that the houses remained empty, the provinces deserted and the city forsaken, Urghien, on reaching a wide valley ascended a hillock, gazed at the assembled multitude and with an authoritative gesture imposed silence. Calculating the number of years he had passed in different parts of the Kingdom, he proved that one hundred and eleven years had been spent in their service. Then, emphasizing the difficulties, toil, and fatigue he had endured while teaching the ignorant, curing the sick, and stimulating the cowards, he reminded them how he had erected temples, caused books to be translated and explained, introduced rites, founded monasteries and convents, and lastly had introduced a Religion hitherto unknown to them, which they must now cherish and care for, so that it might flourish for a long series of centuries and withstand the most furious typhoons. Addressing the King, he bade him protect it; turning to the nobles he ordered them to assist it; the monks

he commanded to augment its splendour and the veneration of others by strictly observing their rules and giving a good example; while he told the people to love it and see that it descended intact to their far distant posterity. He added that henceforward he would be far from the eyes of his beloved Thibettans, but that his thoughts would ever be with them, and his paternal heart would ever be ready to aid, console and protect his dear sons. Finally, with sorrowful countenance and subdued voice: "Rest, he said, my faithful ones, and thou, beloved Thibet, rest in peace; at some future time I shall return and thou shalt see me come under a thousand different forms to bring thee help and comfort." As he spoke he rose from the earth, and, looking down with outstretched arms, as though to embrace the disconsolate people, he disappeared from their sight.

The above is a summary of the principal things contained in the Thibettan books and Histories about their Urghien. His life, already mentioned, is in verse, written rhetorically and eloquently; tradition affirms he dictated it to his favourite disciple, Zzo-ghiel, who added a last chapter in quite a different style, bitterly lamenting the loss of her beloved master.

I must now add a few facts I think are worth recording. Firstly, that although Urghien founded the religion in Thibet he is not regarded as their Legislator, because the law he taught and propagated was not originated or devised by him, but by Sciacchiá-Thubbà. Urghien, it is true, added something about permitting and teaching magic arts and various methods of enchantments, under the pretext of delivering mankind from evil and misfortune, and not as a means to do harm to others. Secondly, that the Thibettans are persuaded and constantly assert that Urghien is still present and visible in Thibet, for, as I have already stated, they believe that as the Grand Lamá of all Thibet is Cen-ree-zij, so the famous

principal Lamá of Takpo-tò is Urghien, or consecutive and uninterrupted incarnations of Urghien in divers personalities. Thirdly, the inexplicable and extreme devotion shown by all Thibettans to Urghien. To him are dedicated many temples; to him is consecrated the temple founded by him, of Sam-yêe; to his memory religious and hermits have erected and greatly enriched many monasteries and convents; in the house his statues and images are regarded with special veneration and love; innumerable small books and large volumes are full of his praises and of prayers invoking his aid; sacrifices are usually made to him, alms are dispensed in his honour, and his name is perpetually being called upon by them with affection. To him they appeal when in want, sickness, trouble, or danger. During my sojourn in Tibet how many submitted to the loss of their property, family, and even their lives, rather than burn his books, demolish his statues and images and cease, according to rigorous orders, from worshipping him. I confess that I blamed myself, and was ashamed to have a heart so hard, that I did not honour, love and serve Jesus, sole Master, sole and true Redeemer, as this people did a traitor, their deceiver.

The text from here to the end of the chapter is missing in MS. B, and is taken from the Fl. MS.

The Fourth is that in addition to the devotion, the love and veneration shown to Urghien by laymen, monks, nuns, and hermits, whose emblem is the red cap; he is also acknowledged and reverenced as a Ciangiub-sem-baa by those other religious who are specially devoted to Sciacchiá-Thubbà and wear the yellow cap. But the latter, bitterly envious of the religious wearing the red cap, on account of the esteem and respect shown to them by the people, try to undermine Urghien's significance, criticize

his books, censure some events in his life, and though not absolutely condemning, yet blame the veneration shown him as excessive. This hatred and implacable envy was in great measure the cause of the terrible catastrophe I have briefly described in this journal. It is a fact that although the barbarous and ambitious King of Upper Independent Tartary invaded Thibet in order to augment his kingdom and to seize the immense treasure he knew was there, yet he was incited and urged by the monks called Ubá [Gelukpa, *the virtuous*], who wear the yellow cap, to commit the treacherous deed. When King Cinghes-Khan, for the reasons I have given above, most justly condemned to death the Grand Lamá, special head and protector of the Ubá, and thus freed Thibet from the pestilent presence of a Grand Lamá whose unbridled lust and dissolute life had contaminated the country, the Ubá found themselves without a head, and with small hopes of regaining their pre-eminence, while the Lamá of their rivals was flourishing, and his reputation was ever increasing. Having failed to secure any help in the Thibettan court or in China, they implored the King of Upper Tartary to rescue a Great Lamá, who would be worshipped not only by the several Thibets, but by Upper and Lower Tartary, China, Nepal, Hindustan, and a hundred other nations, and who for some years had been languishing in a strong fortress, surrounded by guards.

Sheets 188 *to* 192 *of the Fl. MS. contain Father Desideri's long version of the supposed supplication sent by the yellow-capped monks to the King of Upper Tartary, and a lengthy description of the red monks and their adepts, and the destruction of their temples and monasteries that followed the sack of Lhasa, already described above in Chapter VI of this Book.*

CHAPTER XIX

Of other minor Objects venerated and worshipped by the Thibettans.
(Ch. xxxix in MS. B, pp. 402–412; Fl. MS. f° 192–195.)

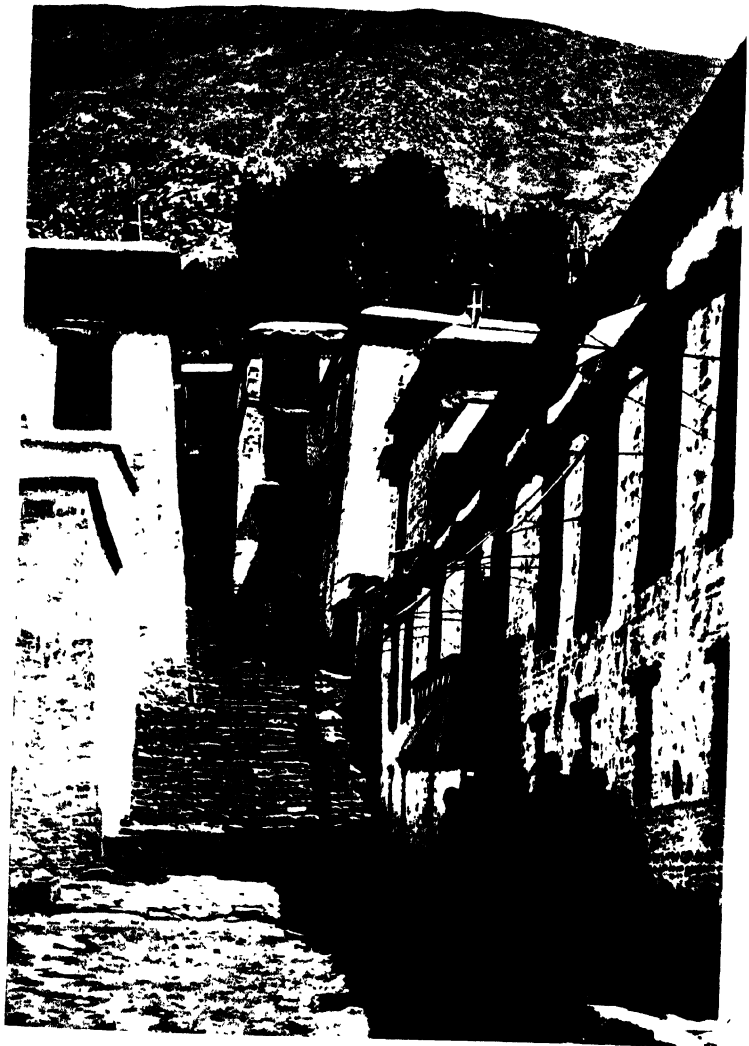
After having given a full account of the primary objects of Thibettan veneration and adoration, I must now mention those of the minor cult. I have intentionally been somewhat prolix in recounting what this people believe and affirm about Giam-yang, Sciacchiá-Thubbà, Cen-ree-zij, and Urghien, as I wished to give a detailed account of the Thibettan idols in order that people might understand my former statements which to many were perhaps surprising and perplexing. I also wish to point out the principal diversity between the Thibettans and other Asiatics (*meaning the peoples of India*). Both, it is true, offer up prayers and incense to false, fictitious saints, but the difference is great. While the latter acknowledge and exalt the singular virtues of, and the extraordinary miracles performed by their saints, yet at the same time they call them impotent, liars, revengeful, or adulterers, much as the ancient Romans did Jupiter, Mars, Mercury, Venus, or Pluto. Not so the Thibettans. The false colour and varnish of the virtues and miracles of their idols which they admire with astonishment, are so good, that only a very healthy and refined eye can detect the fraud. The difference between the pagans of Asia (*India*) and those of Thibet is that the former worship vice, impiety and unbridled passions, while the Thibettans only adore the marvellous if purged of vice and free from all unbridled passions.

I must now describe the less venerated idols which are invoked and worshipped by the Thibettans. Among them some are Lhàs, others are Lamás. I have already explained what they understand by Lhà, and now you must know that they are precisely

what our forefathers meant by genii; and are supposed to preside over various things; and although in a transitory and frail, yet blessed condition, may by their accumulated merits be able to preserve others from ill and temporal disasters, or aid them to secure wealth and worldly felicity. Some Lhàs are revered as guardians of mountains, others as protectors of houses, herds, crops, and other things. One therefore sees heaps of stones with small banners or flags stuck into them on the summit of every mountain, because every Thibettan (as well as Tartars and other idolatrous and superstitious people) who traverse the mountains, cast a stone on the heap, generally adding a small banner, and worship the tutelar Lhà giving him thanks for a safe journey. The high estimation in which these Lhà are held is shown by the third oath administered in the Court of Justice to culprits, or to those suspected of some crime. They are taken to the top of a mountain and ordered to swear by the tutelar Lhà, whose wrath and vengeance are invoked. Tiny oratories or tabernacles, ornamented with banners, are to be seen on the top of every house, where in the morning or on any particular occasion the inmates make some small offering, burn sweet smelling herbs, branches, or such-like things, and pray to the tutelar Lhà to guard the house and its inmates from disease and misfortune. The same superstitious ceremonies are performed in honour of those Lhà who protect animals and other things.

There are various Lhàs who are specially invoked and worshipped. The first is called Zzĕ-Kù, the second Longh-Kù, and the third Pruŭ-Kù. The word *Zzĕ* means life or age; *Longh* or *Longh-ció*, riches; *Pruŭ* or *Pruubà* signifies transfiguration, or also the repetition of a given object. The first of these special Lhàs, the genie who governs life and age, is represented as a beautiful young woman crowned

PLATE XI



ENTRANCE TO NA-CHUNG MONASTERY, THE HOUSE OF THE ORACLE, NEAR DEPUNG MONASTERY

(Photograph by J. C. White ; by permission of Messrs. Johnston & Hoffman, Calcutta)

[face p. 288

with flowers ; the second is the genie who presides over riches, and is figured as a very pretty woman splendidly adorned with jewels ; the third is a genie who can assume various shapes, and thus, instead of one personage can represent several. This people fear more than they venerate some others of these special Lhàs because they believe they have entered into some man especially devoted to them, who can do great good or infinite harm. It is generally among the religious that men possessed of a Lhà are found, though sometimes it is a layman, or even a woman. Such people are called Ccioo-Kiongh [Chŏ-kyong] and of these I must say a few words.

There are many Ccioo-Kiongh scattered about in Thibet and three are held in high honour. One lives in the monastery-university of Serà ; the second, in that of Bree-bungh [Drepung] ; the third, in the monastery of Sam-yêe. The first lives in the city of Lhasá, save for one month in the year, when the Ccioo-Kiongh of Bree-bungh comes there, the other is then obliged to leave and retire to his monastery of Serà. The third never quits the monastery of Sam-yêe. Each of these men has his own particular Lhà, who on certain occasions manifests himself plainly. These monks have their own chapel dedicated to their special Lhà in which they worship and offer sacrifices with considerable ceremony. Superstitious folk go in great numbers to their Ccioo-Kiongh to ask if the time is propitious for business, what doctor to call in, whether to start on a journey, and so on. After invoking his Lhà, the Ccioo-Kiongh gives his advice, always implicitly followed by the wretched creatures who are so blind that, although often deceived, they invariably return to consult their oracle, even on trivial matters. Twice a month, at full moon and when the moon has waned, the Ccioo-Kiongh goes in solemn procession through the city of Lhasá, as I have seen several

times. In early morning, to the sound of music, he invokes and sacrifices to his Lhà; at midday he dons a special costume, which he alone may wear, and then is possessed of the Lhà, and only becomes an ordinary man again when he has taken off the dress. This resembles exactly what we see depicted by our Catholic artists in statues or pictures as the glorious Archangel St. Michael. On his head is a splendid casque adorned with plumes of divers colours; his body down to the knees is clothed in rich and heroical manner; wings of magnificent feathers are attached to his shoulders, and his legs and feet are clad in buskins of ancient form. That nought may be lacking, he wields a large sword in his right hand. Thus attired the Ccioo-Kiongh walks in solemn procession, preceded by a band; then follow flag and banner bearers, more trumpets and drums, and men with smoking censers immediately in front of the Ccioo-Kiongh and his attendants, while the great crowd on either side of the street prostrate themselves on the ground. The Ccioo-Kiongh, his red face streaming with sweat (which is wiped by a monk at his side), frowning and haughty, walks on the tip of his toes and tosses his arms about as though preparing to fly. Gazing contemptuously down, every now and then he kicks the head of a wretched Thibettan or throws a lance, sword or knife among them, thus wounding or even killing some of his worshippers. They do not attribute these deaths to him but to the Lhà, who thus punishes some grave offence. In this way does the Ccioo-Kiongh perform the Khorà, or the circuit of the principal and magnificent temple of Lhasá, called Lhà-brang, and returns to his house where he divests himself of his wonderful costume and, no longer possessed by the Lhà, is once more a natural human being.

In addition to these processions the Ccioo-Kiongh

of Sam-yêe performs every year a solemn public ceremony of prognostication. A multitude of people, also from distant provinces, assemble on the appointed day to hear the predictions and still more to see the marvellous prodigies. With great pomp the Ccioo-Kiongh proceeds to an elevated place where, standing in sight of all, he lifts his eyes to heaven, mutters some unintelligible words and with an imperious gesture points to the sky. At once there rose from the East certain hieroglyphs visible to all, which slowly crossed to the West and then disappeared. One mysterious phenomenon appeared after another, a sword, a sheaf of corn, a writhing serpent, or some other recognizable image. Slowly they rose in the sky and then vanished. The Ccioo-Kiongh explains the meaning of each apparition, deciphers the hieroglyphs and predicts approaching good or evil. The spectators describe the hieroglyphs and their passage, and transcribe the interpretations, which are then promulgated throughout the kingdom.[30]

Other Lhàs worshipped by those idolaters are really magicians or conjurors. The statue of the principal idol, called Torcĕ-pprŭl [Dorje prul ; *or Vajrapani as Yi-dam, tutelary deity*], is always placed together with those of Giam-yangh and Cen-rêe-zij. It looks furious, terrible and menacing, is dark in colour and surrounded by flames. Others again are called Khâ-n-dro-mà, which means women or nymphs who go to heaven. They are represented as beautiful, joyous, richly dressed, and in the act of preparing to fly aloft. The Thibettans say they are very intimate with the Lamás and often consort with them, being fond of home life. They are visible to magicians, wizards and hermits. The famous mountain and celebrated hermitages in the distant and most wild part of the province of Takpo, near the confines of the province of Cong-tó, are supposed to belong to them. No woman is allowed to come near the

mountain or the hermitages under pain, so it is said, of being severely punished by the irate Khâ-n-dro-mà.

Finally, among the objects of worship are numerous Lamás, not only those of olden times, but many who are now alive. With the greatest devotion the Thibettans beg, as already described, for their excrement, which they either swallow or hang round their necks as relics, and place their images with lighted lamps in their Lhà-Khang or private chapel by the side of those of Cen-rêe-zij, Urghien, and others. They prostrate themselves before the living Lamás entreating their aid, either fearing they will do them harm, or hoping to receive benefits.[31]

CHAPTER XX

Of the principal Places revered by the Thibettans and their Observance of prescribed Rites; their Rosary and Fasts.

(*Ch. xl in MS. B, pp.* 413–422; *Fl. MS. f°* 196–201.)

HAVING said enough about the idols and personages invoked and worshipped by the Thibettans, I must not omit to mention the principal places revered by them. These are four: Temples, Lhà-Khangs, Ccið-têns, and Manìs. The Temples are numerous and usually magnificent. They are built of stone, spacious, tall, with solid walls. The roof is flat like a terrace, and in the centre is a wide opening to give light, round which stand tall columns. These sustain a pavilion covered with ornamented and richly gilt metal, whose shining brilliancy attracts every eye, and large enough to protect the building from the weather. There are generally porticoes in front of the Temples, decorated with paintings and tall columns. On entering the Temple you see in front of the nave large statues of idols either sculptured or cast. In the principal Temples many of the statues are of gold, either hollow or solid, some are busts, others are

PLATE XII

Photograph, C. Antilli

STATUE AND SHRINE OF CHAMBA (MAITREIA) IN THE SHE MONASTERY, LADAK

[*face p.* 292

entire figures, and several are ornamented with precious jewels. In front of these statues are altars, or rather shelves, on which are placed vases and numerous lighted lamps, perfumes and other offerings. Hangings of damask and brocades from China, images and fine paintings you often see, and many of the Temples have well-carved, varnished, coloured, and gilt bookcases. These contain the hundred and more large volumes, the Kâa-n-ghiur, of Canonical books of the people, who kneel before them, light lamps and make offerings. Trumpets and other musical instruments are kept on either side in the Temples, to be used for solemn services and sacrifices, as well as quilts for the monks to sit on when at prayers. It is marvellous to see the respect, devotion and reverence shown by the Thibettans to their Temples, the humble adoration and obeisances performed when they enter and offer up prayers to their idols. They also walk several times round the outside, always taking care that the Temple is on their right hand and reciting prayers as they go. It seems incredible but it is absolutely true that in their books abundant indulgences (called Ppèn-yon) are promised to those who visit the Temples and to those who from afar make obeisance or turn reverently towards them, walk round the outside, or light lamps, burn incense or make offerings to the idols. There are many treatises on indulgences, especially for those granted by the famous Temple of Sam-yêe, which are most liberal and ample. Oil is not used in the lamps, only melted butter.

The Lhà-Khangs are the private oratories or chapels, more or less ornate, attached to every house. They are generally shaped like small temples, and in them the people make sacrifices, offer some of the tea they drink, and other things, light lamps and burn perfumes. Among other offerings in the Temples and the Lhà-Khangs is water. This is

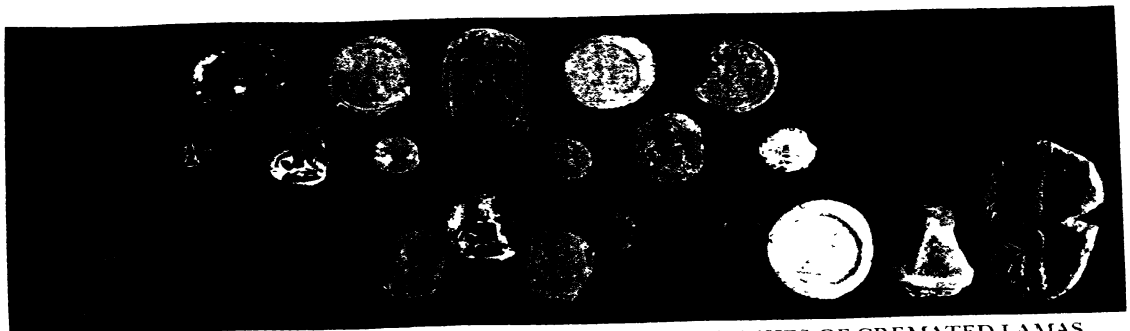
put into small brass vessels and left for twenty-four hours in front of the idols ; it is never poured away (this would be an act of great sacrilege), but drunk with great devotion, or kept, or distributed to others as blessed water.[32]

The Cciŏ-tên are shrines erected near a road. Sometimes they are round, but they generally consist of four large pillars surmounted by a cupola and are painted inside with many images. Some of the Cciŏ-tên have no doors and the people offer their sacrifices and pray outside the Cciŏ-tên, in which they say are buried relics of Lamás ; but others have two doors.[33]

There are two kinds of Manìs. Often they are only stones picked up from the ground and thrown in a heap ; sometimes the stones have words incised on them, as I shall say further on. But they generally consist of a solid wall, about the height of a man and several yards in length. This is built of common stones covered on the top with small slabs of stone, each bearing in large characters the words, Om, ha, hum, or Om-manì, pemè, hum. On either side of the centre of the wall are two square niches in which stand images of their idols. The Thibettans walk round and round these Manìs as they do round the Temples, incessantly repeating the words, Om, manì, pemè, hum, or other prayers. They are generally placed in the middle of a road and the people would think it sacrilege to show your left side to the building ; be the passage ever so narrow, muddy, or covered with water, they always keep it on their right hand. Indeed so scrupulous are they that mules or other animals are driven past on the left side.[34]

There is a third kind of Manì, less frequent and either firmly fixed or portable. For the first kind they make a long niche in a wall rather low down, in it they place wooden cylinders about a foot high which revolve round an iron rod firmly fixed in the

PLATE XIII



"POTTED LAMAS" MADE OF CLAY KNEADED WITH THE ASHES OF CREMATED LAMAS
(*De Filippi Collection*) (See Note 33, Book III, p. 421)

STONES WITH THE "OM MANI PADME NUMM" CARVED UPON THEM: FROM A MANI-WALL
(*De Filippi Collection*)

face p. 294

top and the bottom of the niche. These cylinders, placed one next the other, turn round when touched, and as the Thibettans pass, they set them in motion while continually repeating, Om, manì, pemè, hum. A portable Manì is a small cylinder pierced by an iron rod, one end of which is fixed into a wooden handle so that the Manì can be carried, as they often are; when the carrier moves his hand the cylinder turns round and he utters the words: Om, manì, pemè, hum. This continual rotation of the cylinders, the walking round the Manì, and the repeating the above-mentioned words have a recondite and allusive meaning for the Thibettans. Turning the cylinders, and walking round the Manìs and the Temples represent to them the incessant migrations of the souls from one body to another, which continues unceasingly. By the words said at the same time they think to obtain some abbreviation of the long period passed in those tiresome transmigrations. To aid them in repeating this oration they have rosaries with a hundred beads. Men and women wear them round their necks and as they finger the beads say the oration.[35]

I must warn you that Father Athanasius Kircher is wrong about these matters in his book *China Illustrata*. He states that the Thibettans worship a God called Manippe who is figured in copper as a heap of stones, and invoke him with the words: O manippe um. This he translates: "O God Manippe, save us." To begin with there is no God or idol named Manippe worshipped by the Thibettans. Secondly, it is not true that they regard heaps of stones as possessing any divine attributions. Thirdly, it is a great mistake to mutilate the words, Om, manì, pemè, hum, by pronouncing them O Manippe um. The explanation given by Father Antonio de Andrade of these words in the printed account of his first journey to Thibet is also incorrect. The

interpretation given by the Thibettans of the real words is as follows: the word *Om* is not a definitive term, but an ornamental one. The second word, *Manì*, means a jewel, such as a pearl, diamond or any other precious stone. The third word *Pemè* is the name of a flower which grows in a pond or a lake, and in Hindustani is called Camel pul [Kamal Phul]. The letter *E*, like our *O*, is a vocative particle (*? sic in the text*). The last word *Hum* is not a definite term, but is also purely ornamental and is used by magicians. To understand the meaning of these words, which have no syntactic construction, I must refer you to what I have already said about a Thibettan idol called Cen-ree-zij, represented as a youth holding a jewel in his right hand and seated on a flower called Pêmà in Thibettan. These words are, therefore, only an invocation to Cen-ree-zij, the idol and principal advocate of the Thibettans. It runs thus: O Thou who holdest a jewel in Thy right hand, and art seated on the flower Pêmà." They believe that these words were taught to their ancestors by Cen-ree-zij himself as a prayer pleasing to him, and which would deliver them from the long and grievous travail of transmigration.[36]

They not only walk round Temples and Manìs, and incessantly repeat this prayer hoping thus to be delivered from some of the involved changes in transmigration ; but with the same intent they offer up sacrifices, frequently give alms to the poor, to monasteries, and often also to Lamás. On certain days every month they fast, deploring their sins, censuring their passions, and promising amendment ; they also undertake long and difficult pilgrimages, or they become monks, or place themselves under the guidance and direction of some Lamá who can advise them how to free themselves from passions, the main origin, as they believe, of transmigrations. Finally it is for this that many retire to rugged

PLATE XIV

Photograph, C. Antilli

REVOLVING PRAYER-CYLINDERS IN THE VESTIBULE OF LIKIR MONASTERY, LADAK

face p. 206

hermitages or frightful caverns on inaccessible mountains, with dreadful and tedious solitude as their only companion, and wretched, scarce food they have begged as their only sustenance, reading serious books and indulging in contemplation as their only entertainment. Thus the miserable Thibettans, who are deserving of the greatest compassion, strive to convert the pestiferous poison of deception and error into salutary medicine.

(*Text to the end of the Chapter missing in MS. B.*)

As I have only touched on fasting and contemplation some people may ask whether these are still practised in Thibet. As to fasting, the religious and the Ke-long or professed monks are always obliged to fast, not in the manner of those who abstain from meat, but they only eat once a day, and in the evening are only allowed to have a little liquid food. The laity fast three or four times a month ; then they may not eat meat, and no animal is slaughtered nor is any meat sold. On these days they offer up sacrifices, engage monks to say prayers in their houses, in the temples or the monasteries, give alms to the poor, and the women wear no jewels or finery. One of these monthly fasts, if I do not err, is on the tenth day of the moon in honour of their Urghien, and to commemorate his entrance into Thibet on that day to bring to them religion. As to contemplation, not only have the Thibettans express orders, but their books contain strict rules and precise information. First, they explain what contemplation really is. Secondly, they enormously exaggerate the necessity for it, and the benefits it bestows, especially in assisting to conquer and even extirpate the roots of passion. Thirdly, they divide it into ordinary meditation, immobile and fixed contemplation, and a more sublime and more absorbed elevation of spirit which

raises a man above himself, above all visible things, above the earth, and above all humanity. Treating of ordinary contemplation or rather meditation, which is for beginners, they first point out the best place, retired and small, where they can apply themselves to the workings of the spirit, far more important than their bodily health. Then they treat of various matters and divers points suitable to those who are beginning the first stage of contemplation. The misery and the grievous labours attending transmigrations are described in order to instil a lively desire in these men to apply themselves seriously, without losing time, to avoid them. The hideousness of sin, sole cause of so much evil and such dire punishments, is then dealt with, inspiring sorrow and a strong desire to reform and by repentance, as far as possible, to efface the crimes committed. The necessity of fighting against passions and the serious results of indulging in them, are then dwelt upon, and virtue is highly extolled. Finally, the vanity and transitoriness of earthly possessions is mentioned, and the certainity of death, the uncertainty of how and when it may occur, but that when it does, nought will remain save the memory of wicked deeds which may be harmful to us, or of good deeds and accumulated merits which may alleviate future sufferings. They also treat with subtlety of lack of concentration and its causes, teaching how to avoid it.

After enumerating all these things immobile and fixed contemplation by adepts is described. They are bid retire to some secluded, but light and luminous place, to look up to the sky, imagine they see the brightness and beauty of the saints, their glory and wondrous beatitude. Animated by such contemplation they are to meditate on the innate beauty of virtue, the benefits and inestimable advantages to which it gives birth, and they are seized with an ardent desire to attain such moral excellence; in pondering

on the virtue of the saints, their goodness and sublime perfection, they are possessed by love for them and are cast down by the thought of how scant is their own virtue compared with that of the saints, whom they intensely desire to resemble, or even to equal, by attaining the same virtue. The tedium of contemplation as well as the immoderate fervour and pleasant emotion it excites is well described and excellent advice is given as to moderation.

Finally, when treating of the most sublime contemplation and most abstruse thought which elevates the perfect adept above himself and above all external objects, they lose themselves in elaborate and futile subtilizations, pretending that man disappears, even to himself, and that to a cleansed and purified mind all things vanish, and that nothing exists. This supreme grade of contemplation is very much on a par with our Christian idea of leading others and ourselves to higher thoughts; but how different are the methods adopted by the Thibettans for trying to enable man to reach a perfect, tranquil, and blessed elevation of himself above all earthly things. Their method is to emancipate the will from all affections and from all fear of any object, so that it may be absolutely neutral and even suspended. Our method is far surer (as far as anything on earth can be); to place our will in God's hands, to trust in Him and be, to a certain extent, incorporated with Him, so that all other love and other objects fade away, as a man in mid-ocean loses sight of land.

Not only do the Thibettans possess these treatises and codes about contemplation, but they obey them. I have already said that during two months every year the Lamás hold conferences, preach and give instruction to the monks in their monasteries. Others retire to some solitary place and pass the time in peace and tranquil contemplation, while others withdraw

from the world and devote themselves entirely to profound and subtle contemplation. If one considers what I have stated about the Thibettan religion, although I believe the articles of Faith to be absolutely wrong and pestiferous, yet the rules and directions imposed on the will are not alien to the principles of sound reason; they seem to me worthy of admiration as they not only prescribe hatred of vice, inculcate battling against passions, but, what is more remarkable, lead man towards sublime and heroic perfection. God has bestowed so much intelligence, even on uncivilized man, that it ought to be sufficient to guard him against evil and incline him to love virtue. Even these blind pagans, abandoned as some think by God, are intelligent enough to follow the instructions of teachers, and if they cannot use the one talent given them by God, He is justified in not granting them the supernatural light of Faith, and, angered by their sloth and infidelity, to cast them off and condemn them to suffering and punishment.

CHAPTER XXI

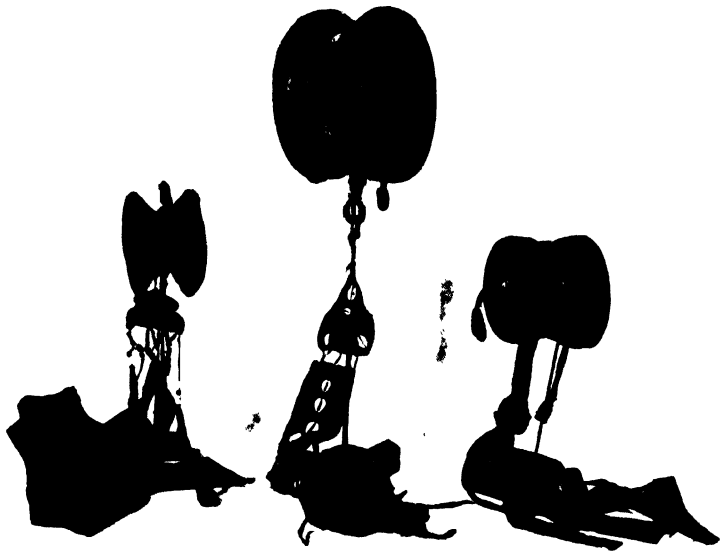
An Answer to some Doubts and Queries about Matters treated in foregoing Chapters.

(*Ch. xli in MS. B, pp.* 422–433; *Fl. MS. f°* 202–207.)

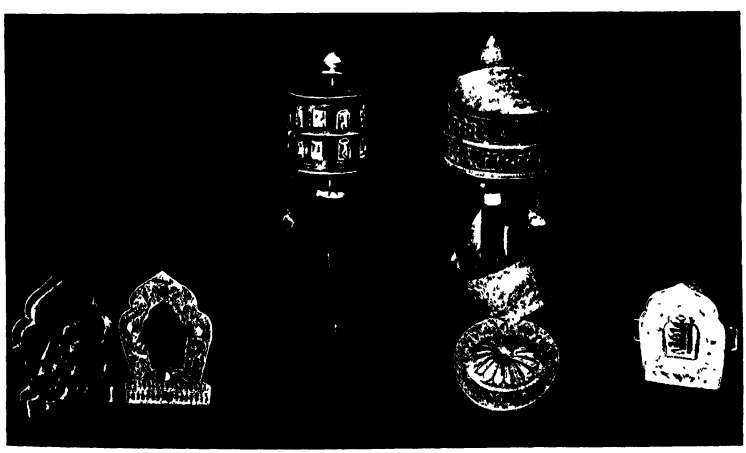
A few pages of MS. B and of the Fl. MS. are omitted, as they describe the vast size of Tibet, calculated on the length of journeys from Kashmir to Lhasa, and from Lhasa to China, by either the Western or the Northern routes; and are followed by a repetition of the arguments proving that the Tibetans do not admit the existence of God or of a Supreme Being.

A NATURAL doubt, or query, may arise as to whether Christianity was ever introduced into this country,

PLATE XV



DAMARU OR HAND TAMBOURINES
The one to the left made of two skulls, the others of painted wood
(*De Filippi Collection*)



TWO HAND PRAYER-WHEEL (MANI-KORLO)
one in copper with embossed silver letters of the mantra, one in engraved ivory (with prayer scroll unrolled).
TWO SILVER KAHU OR BOXES FOR AMULETS AND RELICS
(*De Filippi Collection*)

[*face p.* 300

or whether any Apostle ever came here. These doubts are suggested by many things. There is a great resemblance in the Thibettan sect and religion to the mysteries of our Holy Faith, to the ceremonies, institutions, ecclesiastical hierarchy, the maxims and moral principles of our Holy Law, and the rules and teachings of Christian perfection. Thus for example, although the three complex objects of adoration: the primary Saints (Sangh-ghiêe-Kŏn-cciôà) (or Sanghiée); the books and laws given by them to the world (Ccioo-kŏn-cciôà); and the faithful observers of those laws (Ke-n-dun-kŏn-cciôà) are absolutely different from the three persons of the Holy Trinity: Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, yet if you consider the principal attributes of the three Divine Persons, and the qualities recognized by the Thibettans in the said three complex objects, a doubt may easily arise whether the trinity of the latter may not be an obscure symbol or fabulous legend of the true, august and Divine Trinity. In like manner, when we read in their books of the prodigies and marvels attending the incarnation and birth of their Legislator Sciacchiá-Thubbà, or are told that Urghien was born in a flower in the midst of a sea, that he remained unhurt in the flames of a pyre and burning oil, that he caused the sun to remain stationary in the sky, that he was seen by his disciples and faithful followers to ascend to heaven, and other similar tales, we are tempted to ask whether this people may not in former days have had some knowledge of the incarnation, birth and ascension to heaven of our Lord Jesus Christ; of the lives and miracles of various Saints; and of the Old as well as of the New Testament. The position of the head of the Thibettan religion who is acknowledged and revered by many and divers nations, the rank and condition of the other Lamás, the monasteries of mendicant and other monks,

the nunneries, hermitages, vows of poverty, chastity, obedience, and similar things, may well raise a doubt as to whether in former days there was not some knowledge of ecclesiastical hierarchy or perhaps a certain number of followers of the Christian religion came into the country. I must, however, confess that in none of the Thibettan histories, memories or traditions, have I found any hint that our Holy Faith has at any time been known, or that any Apostle or evangelical preacher has ever lived here.[37]

Father Desideri proceeds to declare that Christianity cannot possibly have been introduced from China into Tibet; but suggests that the religion imported from Hindustan may have been tinged with Christian teaching, founding himself on the legends then current about the activities of St. Thomas in Meliapur and of Sts. Bartholomew and Basil in Persia and Armenia.

Then follows a description of the road to Tibet by Patna and Katmandu and of some of its difficulties. This has been omitted, because the journey is described in detail in Book IV, Chapter I.

CHAPTER XXII

Some Authors who have described Thibet and Criticism of their Works.

(MS. B, pp. 433–443 of Ch. xlii; Fl. MS. f° 157–161.)

THE only books known to me which treat of Thibet are: *China Illustrata*, by Father Atanasio Kircher; *Relazione della sua andata al Thibet*, by Father Antonio de Andrade; *Dizionario Istorico* (Thibet), by Luigi Moreri; *Viaggi all' Indie*, Chapter XVII, Book III, Chapters XVIII and XIX, Book IV, by Battista Tavernier; *Imagem da Virtude em o Noviciado da Companhia de Jesu na Corte de Lisboa*, Chapter XXXI and following Chapters, by Father Antonio Franco,

S.J.; *De Regionibus Orientalibus*, Chapters XXXVI and XXXVII, by Marco Paolo Veneto [Marco Polo]; and *Raccolta delle Navigationi et Viaggi*, Chapter XXXVII, of second vol. by Giovanni Battista Ramusio.

It is possible that those who perchance may read my journal will be surprised and perplexed to find such a difference between the descriptions of Thibet by these Authors and what I have written, especially in the Third Book. To dispel any suspicion that I am actuated by a desire to criticize what others have written, particularly with regard to the three words, "Sanghiêe-Kŏn-cciôà," "Ccioo-Kŏn-cciôà," and "Ke-n-dun-Kŏn-cciôà" in Chapter XII, I must recount my own experience. Shortly after arriving in the capital of Third Thibet I wrote to Father Ildebrando Grassi (*see Bibliography of Desideri*). The letter was translated into French and published in the fifteenth volume of a work called *Lettres édifiantes et curieuses*, giving an account of my journey to Thibet, There are some mistakes in the translation as to dates, months, time of arrival and of leaving Kascimir; but what I want to impress is that I made two capital errors in that letter and stated the exact opposite of what I now write in these pages. When speaking of Second Thibet, or Lhatá-yul and the religion of the people, I said they did not acknowledge metempsychosis, but believed that evildoers go to Hell and good people to Heaven. I also stated that they had some knowledge of God and of the Holy Trinity, because they sometimes used the words Kŏn-cciôà-cik, one God, or Kŏn-cciôà-sum, three Gods. This was a gross mistake. The misunderstanding arose in the following way. When I left Kascimir for Thibet, I took an interpreter who knew Persian and Thibettan, and could teach me some of the latter language during the journey. Now all who go to Second or to Third Thibet, whether Europeans, or Armenians, Russians, or Mahomedans,

fall into the error of assuming that the word Kŏn-cciôà signifies God, and use it as meaning God. My interpreter did the same. When the King, the Vazir, the Grand Lamá of Lha-tá, or another Lamá, after asking about our religion with respect to God, replied that they worshipped Kon-cciôà-sum—the word *sum* meaning three or triune, and when I replied that it was absolutely necessary to acknowledge but one and only God, they said they also acknowledged Kon-cciôà-cik, the word meaning one and one only, which, however, they understand in a different sense. This led me into error and I was to blame for being in such a hurry and thinking I could understand. The same error occurred about metempsychosis. When I asked what they thought happened to evildoers after death, the usual reply was to point down to the earth ; and when I asked what happened to those who performed good deeds, they pointed up to heaven. So I inferred that they did not believe in the transmigration of souls. I confess I did very ill to write that letter to Father Ildebrando Grassi, dealing, although lightly, with the religion and opinions of a people I hardly knew and with whose language I was hardly acquainted. But I think it was wrong to publish that letter containing two quite inexact statements, and could not believe my eyes when I saw it in print long afterwards at Pondichery, and remembered having written to Father Ildebrando Grassi.

I now come to the accounts of Thibet and its religion published in India and also in Europe. In the *Dizionario Istorico* mentioned above, Moreri makes several mistakes, especially in saying that the Thibettans acknowledge God and recognize the Holy Trinity, calling the first person Sang-ghiêe-Kŏn-cciôà, the second Ccioo-Kŏn-cciôà, the third Ke-n-dun-Kŏn-cciôà ; that their Great Lamá is invisible and believed by that people to be immortal

and unchanging: that they believe him to be God the Father, and similar things. Various statements by Father Athanasius Kircher are correct, but many others are entirely untrue and unlike what actually exists. Tavernier (be it said with all due respect to such an author) makes many mistakes in the accounts of countries he knew and travelled in for many years and, when he treats of Thibet, where he never set foot, I frankly say that all his statements are devoid of truth, mere fanciful inventions and worthless. I have no desire to censure these estimable authors for whom I feel great esteem, but only to warn any who may read my narrative, that they will find these pages do not agree either with my early letter or with what is written by the above-mentioned authors.

Some people have a craving for publishing accounts of various countries and of the religion and habits of divers peoples in large prolix volumes, and they sometimes get more credit than they merit. When an author writes about a country he does not know and the language of which he does not understand, his information is of no value to me. For instance, either by word of mouth or in print it has been stated that the people of Thibet venerate the Cross and often wear it on their clothes or on their caps. This is absolutely untrue. The Thibettan dress is made of wool on which for ornament or love of colour are flowers, the centres of which have two thick lines forming a cross. The heathen idolators of the kingdom of Nepal dye their woollen clothes in like fashion yet no one will affirm that they have any respect for the Cross. The Thibettans not only hate, but continually show their contempt for the Cross. Others have declared that they believe in fate and therefore are atheists. They deduce this from a symbol or figure used by the Thibettans to denote one of the principal points of their religion

and false belief. This symbol, or figure, or hieroglyph, which is much used by them, resembles the frontispiece in a small book by Father Pietro Pinamonti of our Society called *L'Inferno aperto*, the head of a hideous monster with wide-open mouth. Inside the mouth are six divisions representing the six conditions of mankind, that is three as rewards for virtue, three as punishments for vice, as I have already explained. These six divisions they call Drovà-trù, the six worlds or the six states of man. The monster, or rather the huge mouth containing these divisions, is called Lee [Las], meaning the works of living beings. The whole figure, so often mentioned and praised by the Thibettans in speech and in books, is called Lee-n-bree. As I have said before, the custom in Thibet is to clip words ; thus Lee-n-bree is really Lee-tang-breepù. *Lee* means works or deeds, *tang* is *and*, and *Breepù* signifies fruits. Thus the horrible head and terrible mouth signify the deeds of men, and the six divisions the six states in which they reap the fruits of their deeds.[38] This explanation by the Thibettans entirely precludes the idea of fate ; indeed they assert that all who believe in destiny are infidels, and that good or evil are solely the results of good or evil deeds of men. Others again when arriving in Europe from Thibet have informed our Congregation of Propaganda and the Pope that the words Sang-ghiêe-Kŏn-cciôà mean the first Person of the Trinity, or God the Father, Ccioo-Kŏn-cciôà the Son, and Ke-n-dùn-Kŏn-cciôà the Holy Ghost. What I have said about these matters is not by way of censure or to contradict others, but to beg any who may read these pages to believe what I have written, as I have travelled in the three Thibets, spent some years in those countries, learnt the language, and read a number of the principal and most abstruse books of those peoples.

PLATE XVI

Photograph, C. Antilli

THE WHEEL OF LIFE, IN SPITUK MONASTERY, LADAK

[*face p.* 306

BOOK THE FOURTH

How the Mission departed from Lhasá and returned to Europe after visiting other Missions.

CHAPTER I

Departure from Lhasá and Residence at Kutti. Arrival in Nepal after crossing the Boundary of Thibet.

(*MS. A, Book III, pp.* 1–7 ; *Fl. MS. f°* 207–210.)

WHEN, on the sixteenth of April, 1721, in Lhasá, the Capuchin Fathers gave me the Decree by which the Holy Congregation of Propaganda bestowed on them the exclusive right to the Mission in the Kingdom of Thibet, I immediately obeyed, and left Lhasá on the twenty-eighth with the Reverend Father Giuseppe Felice from Morro of Jesi, Capuchin Preacher and Apostolic Missionary to Thibet. The usual road from Lhasá to Kutti passes through the cities of Giegazzè and Secchià [Shigatse and Sakya], mentioned in my description of Third Thibet. But on account of the disturbed state of the country owing to the change of Government, we avoided Giegazzè and went by the city of Ghiangh-ze [Gyantse],[1] so to my sorrow I did not meet the Very Reverend Father Felice of Montecchio, the Capuchin Ex-Prefect, Preacher and Apostolic Missionary to Thibet, who had stopped at Bengalá and Pattná from 1708 until 1721, and was now on his way to Lhasá. During the journey we crossed the high and difficult mountain called Langùr. Everyone suffers from violent headache, oppression in the chest and shortness of breath during the ascent, and often from fever, as happened to me. Although it was nearly the end of May there was deep snow, the cold was intense and the wind so penetrating that, although I was wrapped in woollen rugs, my lungs and heart were so affected that I thought my end was near. Many people chew roasted rice, cloves, cinnamon, Indian nuts, here called

Sopari, and Arecca [*Areca nuts*], by the Portuguese and others in India. As the mountain cannot be crossed in one day, there is a large house for the use of travellers. But the difficulty of breathing is so great that many cannot remain indoors and are obliged to sleep outside. Only a short time before our passage, an aged Armenian merchant who was on his way to Lhasá died in this place in one night. All these ills cease when Mount Langùr has been left behind. Many believe such discomforts are caused by exhalations from some minerals in the bowels of the mountain, but as until now no trace of these minerals has been discovered, I am inclined to think the keen, penetrating air is to blame ; I am the more persuaded of this because my chest and breathing became worse when I met the wind on the top of Langùr, and also because many people were more affected inside the house where the air is made still thinner by the fire lit against the cold, than when sleeping in the open air. It would have been the reverse had the illness been caused by exhalations from minerals or pestilential vapours from the earth.[2]

On the thirtieth of May, the thirty-third day of our journey, we arrived at Kutti [Kuti, or Nilam], having travelled on horseback from early morning until sundown, with only an hour's rest at midday for drinking tea and eating some little thing. There are many rich merchants with large houses and warehouses in Kutti, who receive travellers in their houses, provide them with animals, men, and anything they need, and pass their goods through the custom house. One has to pay duty on merchandise on entering Thibet, but on leaving only a small sum is levied on every person. There is only one Governor in other large towns in Thibet but here, either because it is a frontier fortress or because so much money enters into the public exchequer, there are

three governors to prevent peculation, a Tartar, a Thibettan layman, and a Thibettan monk, probably now there is also a Chinaman. The above-mentioned Capuchin Father who came with me from Lhasá and formerly was at Takpò, left soon after our arrival having been named Superior of the hospice at Kattmandù, where he died in two months. Knowing that it was dangerous at this time of the year to leave Thibet for the different climate of Nepal, although not so deadly as to go from Nepal to Mogol, and that during several summers influenza had caused many deaths in Kattmandù, and also that I could not possibly leave Kattmandù before December or the beginning of January, I determined to remain at Kutti until the winter, in a good appartment in a house belonging to the famous Nebò Torcè [Naspo Dorje]. I also reflected that ere leaving Thibet, notwithstanding my prompt obedience to the Decree of the Holy Congregation of Propaganda, it was not well absolutely to cede the rights the Society of Jesus had over that Mission ; so I sent from Kutti to Rome an Appeal with a faithful and full information about the Mission, with regard to the Society and also to the Reverend Capuchin Fathers. During these months I also added some chapters to my Book exposing the errors of metempsychosis, and read many important Thibettan books which were necessary for my subject. While at Kutti I made friends with the three Governors and received much kindness and courtesy from them.

I might have left Kutti in November, but hearing that the Very Reverend Father Felice of Montecchio, whose acquaintance I so much desired to make, was expected from Lhasá, I waited until he arrived on the eighth of December. We started together on the fourteenth for Kattmandù, and though I enjoyed his amusing and interesting conversation, it pained me to see him obliged, at sixty years of age, to face such breakneck roads, and such bitter cold. Two

or three days after leaving Kutti we arrived at a place called Nestì [Listi], one half of whose inhabitants are subjects of the King of Thibet and the other half of the petty king of Kattmandù. During the journey from Kutti to Kattmandù one crosses an iron chain bridge such as I have described before. The road skirted frightful precipices, and we climbed mountains by holes just large enough to put one's toe into, cut out of the rock like a staircase. At one place a chasm was crossed by a long plank only the width of a man's foot, while the wooden bridges over large rivers flowing in the deep valleys swayed and oscillated most alarmingly. During the last days we ascended and descended one mountain after another, but they are not so bare as in Thibet, there is grass and the pleasant shade of trees. Here it is of course impossible to ride, but easy to find men who will carry you. They have leather straps across the shoulders and forehead attached to a board about two hands in length and one in width. On this one sits with legs hanging down, and arms round the man's neck. Father Felice, although old and tired, insisted on walking with me until at last I persuaded him to be carried, but he was so tall and heavy that it was difficult to find men who would carry him, so the poor Father suffered much.[3]

CHAPTER II

Containing a short Account of the Kingdom of Nepal.

(*MS. A, Book III, pp.* 8–18; *Fl. MS. f°* 210–213.)

We arrived at Kattmandù on the twenty-seventh of December, where the Very Reverend Capuchin Fathers received me with much charity, and kept me in their hospice with great kindness for nearly a month. The Kingdom of Nepal owes no allegiance

to any foreign power, but is divided among three Kinglets who reside in the three principal cities; the first at Kattmandù; the second at Badgao [Bhatgaon], the third at Patan. The Kinglet of Kattmandù is not a native of the country, he must be a Rageput [Rajput], a Pagan nation of Mogol between Surat and Agra. His chief wife must be of the same nation in order that their son may inherit. Although his Kingdom is small, he has great riches and lives in great state. The petty King who was on the throne when I was in Thibet and passed through Nepal, gained much territory and riches because he inherited Patan from the Kinglet who died without an heir. The Kinglet of Badgao also is obliged to pay him a small tribute. The present ruler of Kattmandù was a child when he came to the throne, and his mother, together with the ministers and courtiers, plundered the public treasury. As soon as he came of age and discovered what had happened he imprisoned the Queen and punished her accomplices. When in due time his chief wife had a male child, on discovering that the Neuârs [Newars] (as the natives of Nepal were called), knowing the succession was now assured, were plotting to murder him, he ordered the little boy to be killed and had no more intercourse with his chief wife for fear she should have another son. He also dismissed his Neuâri attendants and took men from Hindustan, chiefly Muhammedans, into his service. Furious at seeing their plan thus frustrated, the Neuârs rose, invaded the palace, tried to force the Kinglet to take his chief wife again into favour, and to dismiss all foreigners from his service. Now by Nepalese law persons living in the royal palace, even any who touched the walls with their hands, enjoyed the right of sanctuary and absolute immunity from any danger; nevertheless the Neuârs killed, almost in the presence of the Prince, several foreigners and Muhammedans.

Another time they sent a deadly poison wrapped in certain aromatic and tonic leaves much used in some parts of India, where they are called *betel*, in Mogol their name is *pan*. The Muhammedans exposed the treachery and the Kinglet sent for a goat which fell dead after eating a few leaves. The miscreants were punished, but far too leniently, with perpetual banishment. At last the successive rebellions of the Neuârs so afflicted the young and robust King, that he died of anxiety and worry.

The old Kinglet of Badgao was also rich, and a very capable man. He had always refused to pay tribute to the ruler of Kattmandù, but was at last forced, not only to pay, but to give more, after spending large sums in war.[4] During the short time I was at Badgao this ruler twice sent for me, showed me much honour, and when I left, gave me a letter to the King of Bitia [Bettiah], whose kingdom I was to traverse; he also gave me an escort to protect me until I had crossed the uninhabited mountains.

The chief people in Nepal, after the petty Kings, are the Gurù and the Pardàn [Pradhana]. The former are priests and spiritual directors, but are allowed to marry and are not numerous. Every Kinglet has his special Gurù, to whom he turns for advice. The Pardàn are ministers, officers of the law, and nobles. The rest are merchants whose business is in Nepal, or who have dealings with Thibet or Mogol. These Neuârs are active, intelligent, and very industrious, clever at engraving and melting metal, but unstable, turbulent and traitorous. They are of medium height, dark skinned and generally well made, but nearly all bear deceit written on their faces, so that anyone knowing these countries would pick out a Neuâr from among a thousand Indians. They are cowardly, mean and avaricious, spend little on their food, and are dirty in their habits. They wear a woollen or cotton jacket reaching to

the knees and long trousers down to their ankles, a red cap on their head, and slippers on their feet; when it rains men and women go barefoot. Nobles, and even the King himself, make no use of saddles, but sit on the horse's bare back with their legs hanging down, or at most have a horse-rug. Rice is their principal food, either cooked, or crushed and roasted; the latter serves as bread and as a relish. If they eat meat it is generally buffalo. They drink water and a nasty liquor made of a certain millet which grows in this country and is the staple food of the very poor. A kind of beer is also made from wheat or rice, and some drink *arac* distilled from raw sugar. Much rice is grown as well as wheat, sugarcane, vegetables, and fruit. The houses, of several floors, are well built, and the streets in the town are well laid out and paved with baked bricks set on end. They are very superstitious in all things, futile observers, and utter heathens. The same differences in rank exist as what in India is called Zat, from the Portuguese Castas, what we call tribe or caste. Thus some belong to the royal caste, though they do not reign; others to the Brammans [Brahmins] or priests; others again to the gravediggers who are not permitted to do any other work, and to the fisherman caste, which is considered the lowest and most infamous of all. The language is peculiar to that country, but their writing rather resembles that of Bengalà and the abstruse characters used in Mogol only by Brammans. They write on paper with an iron style and know nothing of printing, but have numerous manuscript books. False Gods are worshipped by them, such as Ram, Mahadeo [Mahadeva], Brummá [Brahmah], Viscnú [Vishnu], Bod [Buddha], Bavaní [Bhavani], and many more. At a certain quarter of the moon they offer an infinite number of sacrifices to the Goddess Bavaní of sheep, goats, and buffaloes, which they allow to rot, and then

eat with great devotion as precious relics. On that day the number of animals slaughtered in the whole Kingdom amounts to many millions. The many temples to their idols are generally small, save the magnificent ones to Bavanì at Kattmandù and at Sangù, a town not very far from Kattmandù. They believe in metempsychosis to an even greater extent than the Thibettans, as they hold that souls not only migrate into animals, but into plants and other vegetables. Corpses are not buried, but burnt, and wives often elect to be burnt with the dead body of their husbands. The common people have an intense dislike of persons belonging to a different religion, especially of Christians, on account of the severity with which Pagans are treated at Goa. Although so many animals of all kinds are killed for sacrifices and food, yet the people treat them with the greatest consideration; they are not made to work, as everything is carried by men. To their false Gods they offer horses and oxen; but instead of killing them they let them loose to go where they will. The beasts wander about the fields and do much damage to rice, wheat, and other cereals; for they belong to the Deutà (as the Gods are called) and may not be driven off or disturbed; also this people have a most superstitious veneration for cows.

If a Neuâr leaves the country and goes, for instance, to Thibet or Mogol, or has any intercourse with other Pagans, he is looked upon as contaminated, and when he returns to Nepal may not even approach his relations until he has undergone purification by bathing for forty days in cow's urine, drinking it, and eating cow-dung occasionally. Whether caused by compassion for all living creatures or by lack of courage, their behaviour in war is most ridiculous and fantastic. When two armies meet they launch every sort of abuse at one another, and if a few shots

are fired, and no one is hurt, the attacked army retires to a fortress, of which there are many, resembling our country dovecotes. But if a man is killed or wounded, the army which has suffered begs for peace, and sends a dishevelled and half-clothed woman, who weeps, beats her breast and implores mercy, the cessation of such carnage, and such shedding of human blood. The victorious army then dictates terms to the vanquished and war ends.

As to their marriages the law is that every man must marry a woman of his own caste or tribe; for instance, a Bramman must wed a Bramman girl; a swineherd, a girl who tends pigs, and so on. Otherwise they lose grade and caste. They are not restricted to one wife, but have as many as they can afford to maintain. For a widow to remarry is considered disgraceful and almost infamous. It is not very cold in winter, or as hot in summer as in Mogol. The Kingdom of Nepal is not large, one can go from one end to the other in a few days; part of it is flat, open country, but the principal part is mountainous; the mountains, however, are well wooded and pleasant. The chief products are wheat, rice, a certain black millet, vegetables, and various kinds of fruit such as prickly pears, pineapples, lemons, and oranges.

The city of Kattmandù, situated on a plain, is large, and it contains many hundred thousand inhabitants, and has a few handsome buildings. There is much commerce in this place, as many Thibettans and heathens from Hindustan come there to trade, and merchants from Cascimir have offices and shops in the town. Outside the principal gate is a large pond with flights of steps and banks sloping down to the water. In the centre is a tall column standing on a magnificent pedestal, under which, according to what the people say, a former King buried a very considerable treasure. There are many pyramids, or towers, for the extent of two miles on the plain

near the pond, dedicated to their Gods. The air is heavy, as it is in Patàn, and not healthy, because of the great humidity.

The city of Patàn is about three miles from Kattmandù, also standing on a plain, and has several hundred thousand inhabitants. Badgao stands on a hill some six or seven miles from Kattmandù, the air is much better, and with its fine houses and well laid out streets it is a much gayer and more beautiful city than the other two; it has several hundred thousand inhabitants who are engaged in trade. A few other towns are surrounded with walls, all the rest are poor villages consisting of huts. The Kinglets occasionally hunt elephants which are tamed and used on state ceremonies. Rhinoceros are scarce; when captured they are kept in the palaces. The rhinoceros is exactly what you see pictured in books of travel in India, especially in one by Monsieur Tavernier, a Frenchman. All three Nepalese Kinglets coin money, but of very debased silver. The larger coins are called Mandermalì, in common parlance Mohôr [Mohar], and are worth half a Mogol rupee, or two of our Paoli. The smaller money, of purer silver, are Succhi, worth half a Mohôr, and Dam, one hundred and twenty of which go to one Mohôr, or Mandermalì. The Mohôr are very popular in Third Thibet, where they are called Pe-trangh. The rupee of Mogol is generally used in Nepal in large dealings, where it is worth two Mandermalì. Although the country is so small and the people so unwarlike, it would not be easy to conquer, owing to the very high mountains which surround it and the extremely bad and precipitous roads along which no large army could pass.[5]

CHAPTER III

Describing the Journey from Nepal to the Ganges and the City of Pattnà.
(MS. A, Book III, pp. 18–27; Fl. MS. f° 213–217.)

On the fourteenth of January, 1722, I went from Kattmandù to Badgao, and left again on the twentieth with another Capuchin Father, and with the escort given me by the Kinglet. For some days we ascended and descended high mountains, meeting very few inhabitants until we arrived on a plain where the Kingdom of Nepal ends and that of Bitià begins. I have already said that for many months in the year this road is impassable, being deadly. Anyone daring to take this journey at that time is liable to catch a disease called *ol* by the natives. This *ol* is a sort of influenza which prevails in the plains and the valleys through which one is obliged to pass; it is less virulent in the day-time, but pestilential at night or when asleep; being caused by the great heat and humidity. In these valleys the Parbettia [Parvatiyas, *hill folk*], as the inhabitants of these mountains are called, sow rice, so the fields are always full of stagnant water at least a hands-breadth deep. Also the water draining off the mountains collects in pools and putrefies, from whence noxious vapours rise in the summer and hang about the valleys, so the air is pestilential. The malady is generally fatal; if the man survives he never really recovers his health. It is true that the men who carry the mail from Nepal to Pattnà, and from Pattnà to Nepal, are obliged to pass at all seasons, but they know the short cuts, avoid the valleys, and spend the nights on the mountains. They also know certain secret remedies and a drink called *Bang*, water in which dried leaves either of hemp or of some similar plant have been soaked. It is greenish in colour and very refreshing, but makes

men stupid and drunk. Many die on the way, although they are all natives of these mountains and live for a few months every year in the valleys. You will therefore understand why I passed some months at Kutti, thus interrupting my journey.[6]

I now take up my narration again. Having crossed the mountains and dismissed the escort given us by the Kinglet of Badgao, we arrived at a place in the plain called Paòs (Possé *in Giorgi*), belonging to the King of Bitià. There we encountered the first Ciocchi-dâr [Chokidar], who was satisfied with a small sum, thanks to our letter of introduction to the King of Bitià. We met with much trouble as we proceeded, for by *fas* and *nefas* everyone wanted money, and if it was refused they prevented us from going on or from turning back. If you give a good present to one of these Ciocchi-dâr, you are lost. The news spreads and the next Ciocchi-dâr asks for more than you gave to the last, and so on from bad to worse. On the way we came to two wide rivers; the first we crossed on the backs of men, the second in a boat. In both places when we landed the Ciocchi-dârs appeared and the second demanded more than the first, with many threats, which was alarming in so solitary a place. If you show courage they fall upon you; if fear, they assault you; if you show them you possess nothing they say: "ransom your life which is in our hands." In both places we had hard work to satisfy these hungry mastiffs with cake. In others we got through by engaging armed men, so that they might think we were under the protection of the King or of a minister, or else we paid a guide to lead us by some by-path. We crossed another wide river by boat ere reaching Messì [Maisi], and were at once taken to the custom office in the public square where everything is minutely examined; though you may have nought but misery and rags they suck your blood. In short, you cannot

walk a step without meeting these rapacious harpies. Both the Revd. Capuchin Father and I were so miserably clad that we ought to have excited compassion in any feeling heart. I leave to you to imagine what would happen to persons travelling with any commodities. I cannot refrain from describing what happened to us after leaving Messì. You must know that Messì is a large, populous, and rich city, subject to the Emperor of Mogol, with considerable commerce and very fertile soil in the neighbourhood. The mountains which divide this province from the Kingdom of Bitià are infected by bands of robbers well armed and fortified. They descend from their fastnesses, scour the plain and the roads to Messì and Derbancà [Darbhanga], which also leads to Settlì, and even kill travellers. We had only gone a few miles from Messì when we saw shepherds hurrying to collect their flocks, villagers flying from their huts, and heard cries and shouts of "Bangiarà aotà, hè; Bangiarà, aotà, hè," which means: "the Bangiarà are coming, here are the Bangiarà," as the robbers are called. These alarming shouts and the fear of death put wings to our feet, and breathlessly we fled. Suddenly a Ciocchi-dâr appeared armed with arrows and a lance, who stopped us and demanded money. We gave it at once, but he was not satisfied until we gave him one of the two woollen rugs we used at night. Thanks be to God who gave us fresh vigour, we got away and reached a safe place. Besides barbarous Ciocchi-dârs, robbers and assassins, one is exposed to the attacks of tigers and other ferocious beasts. Much of the country one passes through is uninhabited, overgrown with tall reeds, wild bamboos and thick woods, in which these savage animals hide. One must be careful firstly, to have fellow travellers; secondly, not to start early but to wait until the sun has been up for two or three hours; thirdly, not to loiter behind the others;

fourthly, it is well to talk, and talk loudly, to shout now and then or fire off a pistol; fifthly, not to continue the journey till sundown; finally, at night to redouble the shouting, light a clear, flaming fire, fire off a pistol occasionally, and divide the time of sleeping (if you can sleep) and of keeping watch. On one of the last days of our journey where the country seemed safer, the Revd. Capuchin Father and I walked on ahead being anxious to reach a certain safe place as it was getting late. We saw some persons in front preparing to cross a large marsh surrounded with thick bushes, when suddenly a tiger sprang out of the bushes and seized one of the men. Terrified they ran back to us and we rejoined our companions and spent the night in another village.

On the journey from Nepal to Pattnà one has to carry food and some cooking vessels, but, although one always travels in winter when the air is less harmful, it is better to be abstemious and eat little meat, butter, or anything fat or oily. It is safer to eat rice or wholesome Indian vegetables, such as Mungh-Ki-dal[7] cooked in plain water. As the water is very bad it must always be boiled, and it is improved by adding a little cinnamon, pepper, or some cloves; but it is much better to drink little. After all these adventures the Revd. Capuchin Father and I arrived safely at Singhià [Singeah], and were most kindly and magnificently received by Signor Gherardo Pelgrom, a Dutchman, in the fine palace of the Dutch East Indian Company. The Reverend Capuchin Fathers of Pattnà came to meet us, and on the sixth of February we all, with Signor Pelgrom, floated down the river Gandok [Gandaki], crossed the Ganges and arrived happily at Pattnà, where we enjoyed the hospitality of the Reverend Capuchin Fathers in their hospice.[8]

CHAPTER IV

Containing a Description of the City of Pattnà.

(MS. A, Book III, pp. 27–36; Fl. MS. f° 217–220.)

THE city of Pattnà, once the capital of the Kingdom of Behâr [Bihar], is now one of the principal cities in the Empire of Mogol, a Subadari, or seat of the Governor of the province who is always one of the chief Ombrà [Omrah], or dignitaries of the court. Several ministers also live there. Besides the Governor's court there are courts of his Lieutenant and of the Padsciahi [Padishahi] Divan, or purveyor of the Imperial Exchequer; the Cotuval [Kotwal] or court of the civil and criminal judges, and of the Sadêr [Sadar], which somewhat resembles that of our Archbishops; and the most important court of the Kâzì which corresponds to the Tribunal of our Inquisitors, but has wider powers and jurisdiction. Several Ombrà, or Princes of the Mogol Empire, also live in the city and the Giama-dâr [Jamadars] or Commanders of a large force of cavalry, as well as Officers of regiments they raise at their own expense to help the King and the Governor. There are also many Giaghir-dâr [Jagidars] and Zamidâr [Zamindars], that is Feudatories, Counts and Marquesses, and Mansebdâr [Mansabdars] or Officers in the pay of the Emperor. All the other inhabitants are either merchants or employees. Both the Dutch and the English East India Companies have very large factories in Pattnà, splendid houses, and extensive warehouses. The Dutch Company is especially occupied in buying Alfim [Afyum], or opium, saltpetre, and Indian dyed cotton. Pattnà gains many hundred thousand dollars from these two Companies. Their fleets come up the Ganges from Bengalá to Pattnà in August to embark the merchandise. At present they are armed and escorted

by soldiers, because of the exorbitant duties, vexations and tyranny of the Ciocchi-dâr. Their armies are a terror to the Ciocchi-dârs and fill the nobles with admiration.

Pattnà is in the plain on the banks of the Ganges, down which it extends a long way ; it has an infinite number of inhabitants and is a very rich city on account of its trade with other provinces of Mogol and with foreign nations. The country round is extremely fertile, producing so much rice of most excellent quality, that it suffices not only for themselves, but is exported to other provinces. The amount of wheat, vegetables and fruit attracts people, so the number of inhabitants is always increasing ; the quantity of cotton is shown by the low price of cotton goods sold to the neighbouring provinces and states and to foreign countries. Other sources of riches are the amount of sap from the wild palm-trees, of saltpetre and of opium. A great number of wild palm-trees, which bear no dates, grow all round Pattnà. The people with the help of leather thongs climb the smooth tall trunk, cut off the top branches and hang earthen pots under the incisions. Next day they take down the pots full of a white, slightly acid liquid of no pleasant taste ; yet they drink a great deal of it, declaring that it relieves thirst and is cooling. But it is intoxicating, and if drunk to excess causes pains in the joints, swelling and dropsy.

Saltpetre is found in such quantities near Pattnà that it suffices not only for the whole Empire of Mogol, but is exported to other countries; the Dutch and English Companies purchase it for hundreds of thousands of Spanish dollars. As to opium, the whole neighbourhood of Pattnà is sown every year with the large poppy ; the sight of these flowers in bloom is really beautiful. Incisions are made on the seed pods from whence exudes a sort of liquid gum which the people collect ; this is alfim or opium.

Although so much opium is produced, it is extensively adulterated with the juice from the poppy leaves, which are boiled and pounded in a mortar. Alfim is given in Mogol to quite small children to make them sleep ; and men and women eat it all day long for their gratification or to increase their appetite or their strength. Soldiers, believing it will give them courage, take it, especially the warlike Rageput, one of whom will eat enough in one day to kill several persons not used to the drug. To these products must be added a great quantity of tobacco, oil, butter, and sugar ; so the country near Pattnà is a mine of gold to the city.

CHAPTER V

Journey from Pattnà to Agra. Description of Benares and Elahabàs on the Ganges. Residence in Agra.

(*MS. A, Book III, pp.* 36–43 ; *Fl. MS. f°* 220–223.)

On the road between Pattnà and Agra the traveller meets with a good deal of annoyance from the extortionate demands of the Ciocchi-dâr, custom house officers belonging to the different feudal domains through which it passes. So I obtained an order for a Meorà, men in the service of Court officials who carry despatches from the Emperor. These officials are called Gorz-bar-dâr, or bearers of a mace, such as is carried in front of our Cardinals ; and also Hattì [Hathi], or Elephants, i.e. devastators sent by the Emperor. They travel in Ciarpai [Charpoi], a sort of bed without mattresses, carried by four men. The Meorà are ready at all hours to accompany these officials, and they have to procure men to carry the Ciarpai and any baggage to the next post-house, generally two or three miles distant. No custom house officer dares interfere with anyone travelling with a Meorà, or examine his baggage.[9]

I left Pattnà on the twenty-third of March, 1722, and arrived at Benares, one of the most celebrated cities of the Empire of Mogol, on the thirty-first. Large and densely populated, it is situated at 26 degrees and 30 minutes.[10] Benares is the best built and handsomest city of the Empire and rivals any of our European towns. Many quarries of fine stone, generally of a red colour, are near the city; most of the houses are built of brick and faced with this stone. They are large, several stories high and well built, and the public buildings such as caravanserai for travellers, temples for their idols and universities, are large and handsome. There are an infinite number of pagans, such as Brammans, who are the priests, doctors and masters. To the Pagans of Mogol, Benares is what Athens was to the ancient Greeks. Pilgrims flock hither from every part of the Empire as to a sacred place and the abode of their Gods; they think several of their idols were sanctified in the woods and hermitages near by, while the Thibettans believe that here Sciacchiá-Thubbà was made perfect and became their Legislator. These superstitious people also believe that whoso dies in so holy a place is absolved from sin, and the pilgrimage to Benares is highly meritorious. There is considerable trade in the city, especially in cotton and silk stuffs manufactured there.

Four days after leaving Benares we arrived at Elahabàs [Allahabad], capital of one of the provinces of Mogol and the residence of an Ombrà or governor of a province. His salary, already considerable, is immensely augmented by the taxes, or impositions, levied on the Pagans who every year at a certain season come to bathe in the river close to the city. This is the river called Giamnà [Jumna] which passes by Lahor, Delly and Agra, and flows into the Ganges at Elahabàs.[11] Then the Ganges becomes navigable, and after traversing various countries turns to the

South and passes by several cities, among them Benares and Pattnà, till by several mouths it enters the sea at Bengalà. The Pagans of this part of India believe the Ganges to be a holy river and that all who die on its banks will enter a happy state, and there remain until they are born again in a fresh transmigration. The dead are thrown into the river, the dying are laid down with their feet in the water, and everyone drinks and bathes in the river. Men from afar fill pots from the river, which are sealed and certified as genuine, hang them from long bamboo poles which they carry across their shoulders, and by selling the water earn much money. Everyone of the immense number of people who want to bathe in the river is obliged to pay a certain tax to the Subà, or governor of Elahabàs, who lives in the fortress, which is magnificent. The city is very large, densely populated and has much trade; there are not many fine buildings but the gardens in the outskirts are beautiful.

After a lapse of seven years and seven months I arrived on April twentieth, 1722, at our College in Agra.

CHAPTER VI

How I took charge of the Mission at Delly, Capital of the Mogol Empire.

(MS. A, Book III, pp. 43–57; Fl. MS. f° 223–228.)

In Agra I fell ill, and with the hot weather the malady increased, until in September I decided to go to Delly for change of air. When I was better the Father who lived there became very infirm and the charge of the Mission was given to me. To do the work well, I determined to perfect my knowledge of Hindustan, the common language of Mogol, in order to be able to teach and preach fluently. I also

again studied Persian, in which tongue the Gospels, many prayers and catechisms are written, as well as very useful books by Father Hieronimo Xavier of our Society.

Sheets 224 to 227 in the Fl. MS. contain an account of several minor miracles which occurred in the church, and long descriptions of Father Desideri's efforts to teach the children, and to attract people to the services he held in his church at Delhi. They have been almost entirely omitted.

The church in Delly was old, in very bad repair and far too small, so I determined to build a new, large and fine church. It was finished on the eve of All Saints' Day, 1723, and opened and dedicated to the Blessed Virgin on the following day, with a great concourse of people, both Christians and Pagans. These people are fond of gardens, so I made gardens in front of the church and of my house, with trees for shade, and all the most popular flowers. They are also fond of visiting and very much resent not being received at once and with cordiality. I therefore kept my front door and the door of my study open till nightfall, welcomed all who came, listened patiently, solved their doubts and appeased quarrels. The chief occupation of the Ombrà and learned men is to give audiences, hold conferences, and read Persian books aloud, which they elucidate; so I proposed to read aloud several Persian books, to wit the Gospels, the Lives of the twelve Apostles, the Life of our Lord Jesus Christ and other books written by Father Hieronimo Xavier. My house was consequently much frequented, not only by Christians, but by several Thibettans (*sic*), and had I remained in that Mission I might have reaped a good harvest. But I was ordered to go to Goa and at once set forth on my journey.

CHAPTER VII

In which are explained the Circumstances leading to a Renewal of the Struggle between the Emperor of Mogol and his Vazir, Nezam-em-Muluk.

(*MS. A, Book III, pp.* 57–67 ; *Fl. MS. f°* 228–232.)

and

CHAPTER VIII

Containing a Description of the Strife between the Emperor and the Nobles of his Court.

(*MS. A, Book III, pp.* 67–74 ; *Fl. MS. f°* 232–236.)

(*A short synopsis of the two Chapters is given.*) [12]

All that part of Mogol between Delly and Agra, thence to Guzerat [Gujarat] and Surat, and from Surat to Goa, war in a state of tumult and disorder, owing to the war between the young Emperor Mohamed-Sciah [Nazir-ud-din Muhammad-Shah] and his Vazir Nezam-em-muluk [Nizam-ul-Mulk]. Of noble birth, renowned for his personal gifts, extraordinary prudence and great capacity, Nezam-em-muluk devoted himself to make the young Emperor a worthy successor of Giahan-ghir [Jahangir], Sciah-Giahan [Shah Jahān] and other notable ancestors. Unfortunately Mohamed-Sciah fell under the influence of the General-in-Chief, Khandaora-Khan [Samsām-ud-Daulah Khan Dauran], a man of low birth, raised by the late Emperor Farrokh-sier [Farrukh Siyar], whose evil genius he was, to the rank of Mir-ol-Ombrà and Sepah-salár [Emir-al-Umarā and Sipah Sālār], or head of the Nobles and General-in-Chief of the army. He poisoned the mind of the Emperor against the faithful Vazir and led him into every kind of vice. Nezam-em-muluk, disgraced and fearing for his life, left Delly by stealth and at the head of his faithful adherents invaded the province of Deccàn and killed the

Governor and his three sons in pitched battle. Sending his uncle to conquer the province of Guzarat, he seized Surat and Mayssûr [Mysore] and thus became master of well-nigh half the Empire. Although Bengalà, the richest province, was threatened, and disquieting reports came from other districts, the effeminate Emperor and his cowardly General, Khandaora-Khan, made no attempts to save the Empire.

CHAPTER IX

Departure from Delly and Return to Pattnà.
Voyage to Sciandernagor and thence to Pondiscerỳ.
(*MS. A, Book III, pp.* 74–84; *Fl. MS. f°* 236–238.)

But I must return to my journey. Owing to the very disturbed state of the country I could not go by Agra, Guzerat and Surat, which is not far from Goa; so by Agra, Elahabàs and Benares I returned to Pattnà. Here I availed myself of the departure of the Dutch fleet to go by water to Sciandernagor [Chandernagor], and we sailed from Pattnà on the twenty-first of November, 1725. Travelling by land one passes Sagregali [Sakrigali] and Mahsud-âabad [Murshidabad], the latter a large populous city, with much trade, capital of the famous Kingdom of Bengalà subject to the Emperor of Mogol. The Governor of the province is a renowned Ombrà, called Giafer-Khan [Ja'far Khan], who, born a Pagan, became so strict a Mohammedan that he is regarded as a Master and Director by that impious sect. Just in all his dealings, and kindly, he is beloved, respected and feared by natives and foreigners. Every year he sends more than seven millions of Spanish dollars as well as jewels, horses, hundreds of elephants and other presents to the Emperor and occasionally also to the ministers. It is said his private fortune amounts

to four hundred and fifty millions of Spanish dollars, or nine hundred millions of rupees (the money of Moghul). From this you may imagine what are the riches of the Emperor.[13]

To return to my voyage down the Ganges. Its banks are really beautiful, with many cities and fine gardens, and the extraordinary fertility of the soil adds to its charm. The course of the river is not straight, it turns and twists from East to West, and as you proceed South it branches off into other rivers which irrigate the immense plains of Bengalá and facilitate commerce with Daccà, Arracan and various other towns. The river above Pattnà, at Pattnà, and a little below Mahsud-âabad is immensely wide, then it contracts a little until you reach Colpì. All who have sailed on the Ganges declare they have never, in Europe or Asia, seen a river to compare with it. The factories of the European nations are on the river-banks near its mouth. The Dutch at Cêncioran [Chinsura], the Portuguese at Bandêl, the French at Sciandernagor, the English at Golgotta [Calcutta], and so on. All these are fine towns, with splendid palaces, beautiful gardens, and very considerable traffic. Only Bandêl is a poor place with few inhabitants. Nearer the sea is a small town called Balassor [Balasore] where each European nation has a house and large warehouses for storing their goods before loading their ships. Many millions of foreign money come into the Empire of Mogol here, which never go out again. The chief exports are cotton goods of all kinds as well as saltpetre and opium. On the twentieth of December, 1725, I arrived at Sciandernagor and was most hospitably received by the Fathers of our Society who have there a house and a church, and by Commander d'Albert, Knight of Malta, sent by the most Christian King and the French East India Company on a special mission. Next day he invited

me to dinner and offered me a cabin in his ship the *Siren* as far as Pondiscerý. On Christmas day Monsieur de la Blanchettière asked me to dinner with the Commander and the officers of the *Siren*, and the same evening we embarked in a Bazzarà [Bajrā][14] or gondola belonging to the French Company and went down the Ganges to join the *Siren*. After leaving Sciandernagor we passed the town of Balassor where big ships take in pilots, the sand banks being very dangerous. We in our Bazzarà did not need one. Here the Ganges became so wide that it was like the sea. We passed the night of the twenty-fifth and the whole of twenty-sixth in the Bazzarà and only reached the *Siren* on the evening of the twenty-seventh. Pondiscerý was sighted on the tenth of January, 1726, and we disembarked the following day.

CHAPTER X

Description of Pondiscerý. I am appointed to the Mission of Carnat.
(MS. A, Book III, pp. 85–90; Fl. MS. f° 238–240.)

PONDISCERÝ is the most important place belonging to France; the fortress is well built and well provided with munitions and stores. The Governor of all the French possessions in India lives there with a large body of soldiers. Monsieur de Beauvallier was then Governor; he had begun and built more than half of the fine solid walls enclosing the city with handsome gates and strong bastions. The city is large, the streets are wide and straight and some have avenues of trees which add to their beauty. Our Society has a house in Pondiscerý, where the French Fathers lead a life of toil and abnegation and have made many converts among the heathens. Superior of the Mission at that time was the Revd. Father Bouchet, author of many books in the Tamulic

language and one of the most zealous founders of the Carnat [Carnatic] Mission. When I arrived the Fathers raised their hands to Heaven with joy at seeing another assistant; the number of churches had increased while the number of workers had diminished. They begged me to remain alleging that my acquaintance with the Court of Delly and my knowledge of Hindustan and of Persian would be most useful in dealing with the Governor of the province whose protection is important. My Superior, the Revd. Father Provincial at Goa, allowed me to remain, and I at once began to study Tamulic, the language of Malabar.

CHAPTER XI

Description of the Mission successfully organized by the Society of Jesus in the Kingdom of Carnat.

(*MS. A, Book III, pp.* 91–101; *Fl. MS. f°* 241–245.)

THE MISSION of Carnat extends southwards as far as Gingí [Injee or Gingi], capital of a small state which was taken by the famous Sevagi [the Mahratta Sivaji] sixty years ago, whose son was conquered by Oranzeb [Aurangzib], Emperor of Mogol, after he had subjected the kingdoms of Golconda and Visapore [Vijaypur]. The fortress of Gingí is singular, being built on three hills forming a triangle, and on each hill stands a fort, and they are connected together by walls and towers. The city lies at the foot of those hills and is dominated by the fortress.

To the North of Gingí is the kingdom of Carnat whose capital is Cangipuràm [Kanchi; Conjevaram], once a celebrated city with more than three hundred thousand inhabitants. It contains high towers, splendid temples, public squares and fine water tanks. Near by is a tower called Vayaor, where the Mission has a church and a residence, and half a day's journey from Cangipuràm is a town called

Camepondy where I stayed several months in a house belonging to the Mission to serve the church and administer the Christians. A long day's journey from Pondischerý towards Gingí is another church, in a place called Pinepondy, where I sometimes went to hold services. Harcât [Arcot] is now the chief city of the Kingdom of Carnat, where the Nabab or governor of the whole district lives; it contains many Christians, of whom I had charge while I remained in the Mission. Six or seven leagues distant is another city, Velùr [Vellore], with a superb, very ancient fortress built of hewn stone and surrounded by a wide and deep moat full of crocodiles, to which malefactors are occasionally thrown. Here also the Mission has a church and a residence where I stayed twice for a month to serve the church. On the West the Mission of Carnat extends to the Kingdom of Mayssùr, whose King is said to have fifteen millions a year, and can put forty thousand men into the field. To the North the Mission extends towards Meliapùr [Mylapur, a quarter of Madras], Madrastá [Madras], Pongonûr[15] and almost to Massulipatnàm [Masulipatam]. Seven leagues to the North of the city of Madrastá, the Dutch have a fortress called Polecát [Pulicat]. It used to be their principal agency for the coast of Coromandel, and they had great trouble in establishing it. Still further to the North is Massulipatnàm, eighty leagues distance from Golconda, once belonging to the King of Golconda but now incorporated with the Empire of Mogol.

The principal European nations who trade with India have their agencies at Massulipatnàm, where all the finest painted cotton goods are made. From there to Madrastá is a journey of one hundred leagues by a very indirect and winding road.

The Missionaries at Carnat lead a hard life. They never eat meat, fish or eggs, drink wine or chew

betel leaves, but live on boiled rice, vegetables and fruit. Water for drinking, nasty in taste, they fetch from the marshes, as that in the wells is brackish and unfit for use. Their huts, built of sun-dried bricks with a verandah in front, are thatched with reeds, and during the rainy season the floor is saturated with water. On this they used to spread straw mats for sleeping, but frequent maladies forced them to get planks which they cover with tiger skins or coverlets. Leaves from the trees serve as plates, tablecloths and napkins, and a few earthenware pots are the only furniture they possess.

Crowds of neophytes come with their wives and children for instruction and help, who often keep the Fathers up all night, especially during Lent, Easter, and other religious festivities. Converts are assisted and protected from the persecution of the Pagans; indeed, the Missionary has to act as father, mother, teacher and judge to an infinite number of people. He also has to visit the sick, often in distant villages, and to pay pastoral visits to places where there is no church. Now travelling in India is not easy. Inns there are none; only occasionally large empty sheds are met with where the traveller cannot even get food. In summer he must travel by night on account of the intense heat, while in the cold season he is exposed to torrential rains. He is always in fear of robbers and of persecution, and of poisonous snakes, whose bite may kill a man in a quarter of an hour. The Malabarese have excellent remedies for snake-bites, but they often fail to save the victims.

To these hardships must be added the difficulty of learning the language and of adopting the habits and customs of the natives. One of the most painful is to wear their sandals; flat wooden soles attached to the foot by a nail passing between the big and the second toe, causing sores which are slow in

healing. Also sitting cross-legged on the ground without changing one's position, which would offend the people, is very irksome. When a Missionary is ill, he must resign himself to be nursed by natives and follow the main precept of Indian medicine—total abstinence from food or drink, often prolonged for several days.

CHAPTER XII

Departure from the Carnat Mission. Some Account of Meliapùr, and the two Traditions regarding St. Thomas the Apostle. Description of the City of Madrastá.

(*MS. A, Book III, pp.* 101–116; *Fl. MS. f°* 245–250.)

In the middle of my work in the Carnat Mission I was suddenly summoned to St. Thomas [San Thomé] by Monsignor Pinheiro, of the Society of Jesus, bishop of Meliapùr. He deputed me to take the minutes of the trial instituted by him, *auctoritate Apostolica*, to Rome, for the canonization as a martyr of the Venerable Father Giovanni de Britto of our Society, who had been barbarously martyred, impaled and beheaded by the Idolaters in the Kingdom of Maravà.[16] In the middle of December I therefore went to the city of St. Thomas, otherwise Meliapùr, and although our Society had a college there Monsignor Pinheiro insisted on my staying in the Episcopal Palace until the trial of the case was over. One day I had the honour to celebrate Mass in the adjacent chapel annexed to the cathedral where it is said St. Thomas the Apostle lived for some time. The head of the lance with which he was killed is kept there and several other relics. I was also much comforted by visiting the Little and the Big Hills about two leagues from the city. The Little Hill is a rugged, not very high cliff, up which a good path was made about 1561 for the convenience of the Faithful who

came to pray in the church dedicated to the Blessed Virgin halfway up the hill. Under the high altar is a cavern about fourteen feet wide and fifteen or sixteen deep. It is seven feet in height in the centre, and the only, and difficult, entrance is by a cleft in the rock about five feet high and one and a half wide. The cavern and the entrance have not been touched because of the conviction that St. Thomas the Apostle often retired there to pray. At the top of the rock is a small hermitage built by our Fathers, and the Church of the Resurrection. On the rock under the high altar is sculptured a cross about a foot high, exactly like the one of the Big Hill, which changes colour and sweats at the same time. Near the high altar is the well of St. Thomas. Moved to compassion by the suffering from thirst of the people who came to hear his sermons, he touched the rock with his staff as he prayed, and a fountain of clear water gushed forth ; it is still used as a remedy for divers maladies. The Big Hill is only half a league from the Little one, and about four times larger and higher. Lately Malabarese, Portuguese, Armenians, and many English have built fine houses at its foot. When the European ships leave Madrastá, half the inhabitants pass months in this new city. On the top of the hill is a church dedicated to the Blessed Virgin, called Our Lady of the Hill. This is the most notable edifice in this part of India; people, that is to say, the Christians devoted to St. Thomas who inhabit the mountains of Malabar, travel a good two hundred leagues to visit the sanctuary. They are under the jurisdiction of the Archbishop of Serra, who is appointed by the King of Portugal. The present Archbishop is Monsignore de Vasconcellos, Missionary of the Society of Jesus in Malabar, well versed in the native tongue and more especially in Syriac, which is the written and learned language. The liturgy of the Malabar priests called

Cassanar is in Syriac. These Cassanar are the parish priests who live in those hills, where there are more than a hundred thousand Christians. Some are schismatic, but many are in communion with the Roman Catholic Church since the beginning of last century, thanks to Don Alexius Menezes, then Bishop of Goa, who held the famous Council at Diamper [1599] whose acts were printed later in Lisbon.[17]

The cross, a bas-relief chiselled out of the living rock by St. Thomas, is above the high altar in the ancient church of Our Lady of the Hill. When it changes colour from the original grey to red brown and a brilliant white, and is enveloped in a thick mist and sweats, it presages some misfortune to the Portuguese nation. In the church is a picture venerated not only by the Christians, but also by the Idolaters, of Our Lady with the Divine Child in her arms, which tradition says was painted by St. Luke the Evangelist and brought here by St. Thomas the Apostle.

The city of St. Thomas, or Meliapur, is called the Peacock city in the Malabar language, because their former rulers had a peacock in their coat of arms and on their standards. Fifty years ago it was one of the most beautiful and best fortified cities in India. It belonged to the Portuguese; but when the Dutch drove them out of other places they ceded it to the King of Golconda. Monsieur de La Haye was sent with a fleet, attacked the city and, to the astonishment of the Indians, took it in a few hours. It remained in the possession of France for two years, when it was again seized by the King of Golconda who destroyed the fortress and the city, using the ruins to enlarge the city of Madrastá. Oranzeb, Emperor of Mogol, then conquered the Kingdom of Golconda, so the city of St. Thomas now belongs to the Empire of Mogol. The

Portuguese still have a large quarter in the city with fine houses, the Episcopal Palace, the cathedral, the college, and the church of the Society of Jesus; there are also churches and monasteries of other religious orders.

Madrastá, or Madraspatàn, called Cinapattnàm by the Malabarese [Madras], lies a league to the North of the city of St. Thomas. It belongs to the English, and is a fine city girt round with walls; and has a square fortress called the Fort St. George. Armenians and merchants of various nations inhabit a second city; a third, the largest of all, is set apart for Indians. These three towns really form one and contain more than one hundred thousand souls who, it is said, pay sixty thousand pagotte [pagodas][18] (about seventy or eighty thousand Roman scudi) to England in taxes. The French Capuchin Fathers have a monastery in Madrastá and lately have built a magnificent church.

On the twentieth of December the minutes of the trial *auctoritate Apostolica*, for the declaration of martyrdom and canonization of the Venerable Father Giovanni de Britto, were given to me with due solemnity in the Episcopal Palace, and on the twenty-third I returned to Pondiscerý, where Monsieur Le Noir, Governor-General for the French East India Company, granted me a passage on one of their ships called the *Danae*, as chaplain to the ship.

CHAPTER XIII

Departure from India for Europe. How I fell dangerously ill on Board, and was saved by the Intercession of the Venerable Father Giovanni de Britto.

(*MS. A, Book III, pp.* 116–122; *here the Fl. MS. is suddenly divided into chapters, with the same numbers and titles as in MS. A. The text is also identical. This ch. occupies f°* 250–253.)

On the twenty-first of January, 1727, I most unwillingly left the beloved mission of Carnat and embarked

on the *Danae*, where I was most kindly received by all on board. The anchor was lifted and sails set, but the wind died away and we remained in sight of Pondiscery until the evening of the twenty-third. The wind being favourable, we passed the Cape of Seilan [Ceylon] on the fifth of February. But it soon blew hard and on the twentieth the sea became very rough owing to a hurricane which had devastated the Isles of France, or Mauritius, and Bourbon, or Mascarene. On the twenty-fifth we sighted the Isle of France, and with great difficulty got into the harbour, where we passed some days discharging cargo and taking in water and wood. This isle once belonged to the Dutch, but they abandoned it, and some French ships of the East India Company took possession in the name of the Company and left officers, soldiers, and other people as colonists. It now produces excellent tobacco, coffee, and such-like things. At first the inhabitants lived principally on fish and the flesh of deer and wild goats which are abundant, while near by on some small desert islands are many land and sea tortoises which they eat. We left the Isle of France, or Mauritius, and soon sighted the Isle of Mascarene, or Bourbon.

For many years this isle has been subject to France; there are two roadsteads, St. Paul, more protected and safer, and St. Denis. It has been colonized by the French who bought slaves from the adjacent Isle of St. Lawrence or Madagascar, and cultivated the land so well that it provides everything they need save wheat, which for political reasons they are forbidden to sow. Having discharged our cargo and bought three or four oxen and a few sheep, we sailed and found it much colder and the sea much rougher as we approached the Isle of Madagascar and the Gulf of Mozambique. The change from the hot climate of Mogol and Malabar made me so ill that I was near death, and was only saved by

my faith in the intercession of the Venerable Father Giovanni de Britto.

CHAPTER XIV

Continuation of the Voyage after passing the Cape of Good Hope. Isles of St. Helena and Ascension. Arrival at the Isle of Martinique in South America. Arrival at Port Louis in Lower Brittany.

(*MS. A, Book III, pp.* 123–132; *Fl. MS. f°* 254–256.)

We sighted the Isle of St. Helena, belonging to England, on the twenty-ninth of April, and as provisions were scarce, we determined to go to the Isle of Ascension, which we reached on the seventh of May, and anchored under a mountain with a cross on the summit.

Owing to the scarcity of water, the island is uninhabited, save by some miserable creature who has committed a crime deserving capital punishment, and so was put on shore and abandoned to his fate by a Dutch ship. Aware of this, the French erected the big cross on the mountain and at its foot left a notice that they will rescue anyone who can attract the notice of their ships which pass near the island. They also left a barrel of biscuits and a few other things. When our sailors landed they found an empty barrel, and on exploring the island, some writing in the Dutch tongue and some clothes in a small hut built of stones, boughs and grass. Near by, tied to a pole, was a wild goat which had evidently been dead only a short time. Of the man they discovered no trace.

The sailors killed a great quantity of starlings, knocking them over with sticks and even catching them with their hands. They also captured fifty sea tortoises which come out of the sea in the evening to lay their eggs in the sand. They make excellent soup and their flesh is said to be a preservative against scurvy. We all, nearly two hundred persons, lived

on these turtles for the rest of the voyage with a little bread and biscuit.

We left the Isle of Ascension on the ninth of May with a calm sea and light wind, when at midnight a ship crossed us and cut away our bow. Thanks be to God it was above the water line; but we suspected she might be a privateer; all the more that five other ships were seen near by. So the cannon were manned, cabins dismantled to make room for the artillery, arms were distributed and we prepared for battle. Some shots were fired by the ship that had struck us and we expected to be attacked, but they were only to summon the others to her assistance as she had been severely damaged in the collision. After a careful inspection of the ship we continued our voyage, but the captain and officers decided it would be better to steer for South America and mend our bow instead of proceeding to France. On the ninth of June we approached the island called La Martinique and on the eleventh cast anchor near the Fort of St. Pierre. Some French fathers of our Society came on board at once and took me to their house, where I stayed twelve days and quite regained my health.

At midday on the twenty-second of June we left the fort of St. Pierre and on the eleventh of August we cast anchor in the royal harbour of Port Louis in Lower Brittany. Thanks to the special assistance of God and the Blessed Virgin we had escaped the perils of tempests and corsairs, and the tedium of calm.

CHAPTER XV

Journey from Port Louis to Paris, and from Paris to Marseilles.
(*MS. A, Book III, pp.* 132–137; *Fl. MS. f°* 256–258.)

I LANDED at Port Louis on the twelfth of August and went to Mademoiselle Macary, a most pious

and exemplary widow whose house all our Missionaries resort to on their way to or from India. On the morning of the sixteenth I left for the city of Vannes, which I reached the same night and was most hospitably received in our College. Leaving Vannes on the twenty-second, I arrived the following night at the city of Rennes.

Leaving this city on the twenty-eighth of August, I passed through La Flèche and on September the fourth arrived in the city of Le Mans. There I had to wait until the trial *auctoritate Apostolica* for the canonisation of the Venerable Father Giovanni Francesco Régis was finished. This was handed to me in a public Tribunal to take to Rome and deliver to the Sacred Congregation of Ritual.

I left Le Mans on the eighth of September and arrived at Paris in the evening of the twelfth. There I stayed in our house in the Rue St. Antoine and the Reverend Father La Neuville, with kindness I shall ever remember, showed me the notable sights of Paris and the regal magnificence and beauty of Versailles, where I spent three days and had the honour of an interview with the Duchess of Vantadour and saw the two baby Princesses, Madame de France and Madame de Navarre.

I left Paris on the twenty-third of September for Fontainebleau, where the most Christian King was occupied in hunting. The Revd. Father de Liniers, the King's confessor, received me most kindly and procured me the honour of a long interview with his Eminence the Cardinal de Bissy. Next morning I made my obeisance to H.M. Louis XV and assisted at the Mass where the piety and angelic devotion of so glorious a Monarch impressed me more than the magnificence and glories of his Court. Before leaving Fontainebleau I was honoured with a long audience by his Eminence the Cardinal de Fleury. On the twenty-sixth of September I joined

the stage-coach in which I had secured a seat at Paris, and reached Châlons on the twenty-eighth. From thence we travelled on the river Rhône by packet-boat, arriving at Lyons on the thirtieth. There I stayed at our house until the fourth of October, when I again travelled on the Rhône as far as Avignon, which we reached on the sixth. At Avignon I remained three days in our house and arrived in Marseilles on the evening of the tenth; there I stayed in our college and left for Genoa in a felucca on the sixteenth.

CHAPTER XVI

Voyage from Marseilles to Genoa, and Pistoia. Short Stay in Tuscany. My Arrival in Rome and the End of my Journey.

(*MS. A, Book III, pp.* 137–146; *Fl. MS. f°* 258–263.)

On the voyage from Marseilles to Genoa God was pleased to deliver us from great peril. On the morning of the sixteenth of October, having quitted the port of La Ciotat early, we met a Genoese ship and were warned that two Barbary corsairs were cruising near the coast and had already captured some Christian ships. A vessel with the French envoy to Genoa on board, and a brigantine belonging to merchants, left La Ciotat at the same time and kept cautiously behind us. With our eyes well open we asked the fishermen we met whether they had seen or heard of any Algerine corsairs; some said yes, others declared the report was false. Thus in fear and trembling we sailed all day, until at sunset we were so close to Cape St. Tropez that we could run the boat ashore in a few minutes. The Maltese brigantine which had always kept in our wake now passed us and no sooner had she rounded the cape than the two Barbary privateers put out from a small cove where they had been hiding and captured her.

At once we beached our ship and first the sailors, and next the passengers, sought refuge among the bushes on the highest part of the mountain, where we remained all night. At daylight some of the sailors and passengers who had not reached the top of the hill were running hither and thither hoping to find a village or a castle. This rather bewildered us; we consulted whether to remain in our hiding place or to try and discover some inhabited place. I, perhaps rather boldly, suggested it would be better first to discover the whereabouts of the enemy, and cautiously to climb the opposite hill from whence we could see the bay out of which the pirates had come. We also hoped to be able to make signals to the other felucca with the French envoy on board, which had anchored for the night near a village and whose crew were not aware of the danger. Silently and carefully we descended, and climbed to the top of the other hill, from whence we espied the corsairs anchored in their cove. We then went down to our felucca, and taking out our more valuable things, went up a hill to the West from where we could see the other felucca coming. In a short time she hove in sight and by waving handkerchiefs we attracted the notice of the pilot who brought his ship to shore close to our felucca. We told the Envoy what had happened and he exclaimed: "What do I care? I am not afraid of any insult being offered to me, a Frenchman! We are not at war with Barbaresques, on the contrary, we are friends." "That is all very well," replied the pilot and owner of the felucca, "but I am Genoese and so are my men; the enemy would not spare us. While on the voyage I will obey your orders but now I beg you will at once land." The Envoy handed his official dispatches to his secretary and ordered him and another of his party to go to the bay, call the Algerians to come to land, show them the dispatches and say they were French. If asked about

the other felucca (which was ours) he was to say the Envoy knew nothing about it. The secretary was just going when the pilot said: " Stop, gentlemen. Do you expect these false traitors will keep faith with you? If they seize the dispatches and the envoys, can we punish them and deliver these gentlemen out of their clutches? Do not expose the royal dispatches to insult. Give me all your arms and ammunition and leave this affair to me. I do not care for my life, or my felucca, but I do care for my reputation." Saying this he gave the arms to those he could trust and marched at their head up to the little tower on Cape Tropez from whence by the aid of a small crooked trumpet he hailed the pirates. " Hullo," he shouted, " hullo, whoever you are down there, reply, Who are you? Whence did you come? Where are you going? If you are Christians and friends dissipate our doubts, weigh your anchors and depart." Three times he blew the trumpet and three times he repeated the words, but there was no reply and the ships remained quietly at anchor. The intrepid pilot then fired off a blunderbuss. When the enemy heard the balls whizzing over their heads they at once replied : " I am from Genoa," said one, " and going to Barcelona." " I am a Catalan and also bound for Barcelona," said the other. " We obey you and are coming round the Cape to salute you and wish you a happy voyage before going our way." Setting sail they came out of the bay and sent a boat with about twelve men towards the shore. The sailors of our two feluccas began to make merry, crying out: " they are friends, they are friends," and some ran up the hill to summon those who were still hiding among the bushes. But the shrewd pilot noticed there were men in the boat lying down and hiding, and shouted to the two privateers: " Don't come near our feluccas or think to deceive us, or that we are cowards," and ordered

his small squad to point their guns at the two ships. Seeing their plan was discovered, the traitors recalled the boat, set sail and disappeared. With some trouble we at last collected the timid people who had hidden on the hill-side and continued our voyage. Thanks be to God, we arrived safely at Genoa on the twenty-second of October.

On the twenty-sixth we left Genoa for Leghorn in the same felucca, and anchored at Sestri di Levanto in the evening. Next morning the raging of the scirocco and the fury of the sea prevented our departure and we were obliged to remain there until the eve of All Saints. But the weather was, however, so bad that we were again forced to land at Levanto. As the south-west wind continued, I determined to go by land and left Levanto on the second of November; passing through Sarzana I reached Viareggio next day and arrived safely at Pistoia on the fourth.

On the seventeenth I was laid up with fever and only left for Florence on the eleventh of December. It is impossible for me to describe the kindness and honours I received in all parts of the world, in Africa, America, in various Kingdoms of Asia, from Kings, nobles and eminent people; but they are as nothing to the generous and incomparable beneficence shown me in the two cities of Pistoia and Florence.

At length, on the eighteenth of January, 1728, I left Florence and on the twenty-third arrived at Rome, which city I had left fifteen years and four months earlier for the Missions of the East Indies. My first visit was to the very Reverend Father, our General, Michelangelo Tamburini, who welcomed me like a son and gave me a long audience. To describe the joy and fraternal cordiality shown me by all members of our Society, and the favourable reception I met with from many eminent and great personages would only tire the reader.

APPENDIX

REPORT ON TIBET AND ITS ROUTES

by

EMANOEL FREYRE, S.J.

From the Latin manuscript with the title *Tibetorum ac eorum Relatio Viarum*, dated January 28, 1722, in the Biblioteca Vittorio Emanuele, Rome. (Gesuitico 1384, No. 32.)

REPORT ON TIBET AND ITS ROUTES

VERY REVEREND FATHER IN CHRIST:

On the twenty-fourth of September, the Feast of Our Lady of Mercy, of the Year of our Redemption 1714, the Reverend Father Hyppolitus and myself took leave of the city of Dyli [Delhi], and in seventeen days arrived at Lahor [Lahore]. Having left this place and crossed its river, which is called the Râvî, in four days we arrived at a place called Little Guzarat [Lesser Gujarat, Gujrat]. It is known as " little " to distinguish it from Great Guzarat [Gujarat the Great] which is next to Cambaya [Cambay]. This little Guzarat is at the foot of the Caucazi [Caucasus, *see Note* 15, *Book I*] mountains, in the region where some geographers, more especially among the French, have placed the city of Cazimir [Kashmir or Srinagar]. But to reach Cazimir from the foot of the rocks took us fourteen days; and moreover we climbed some precipitous mountains, which frightened us greatly.

The Caucazi Mountains, which curve like a circle from East to West, are covered with snow; they have various trees of different species and are rich in medicinal herbs. They rise to the clouds in steep inclines and winding passages, and they are crowded so close together that their feet touch and hardly leave a passage for the torrents. The inhabitants, who are rare and scattered, have very little flat ground to dwell on. To the West of Cazimir is Cabul, to the North is Cascar [Kashgar], to the East the Ghâcâres peoples [? Baltis], and finally to the South is Hindostan. Cazimir is situated in the Caucazi Mountains, at the place where they branch to the North, in so small a plain that the waters all meet in it, to flow in a single river to the West. This river waters the territory called Pexaor [Peshawar]; next it bathes the lands of Syndi [Sind] that march with Persia; finally, after forming the port of Synda, famed for the merchant vessels that frequent it, it escapes into the sea.

Cazimir is a large city, and populous. All around it are stagnant waters on which for miles around one can see a large number of boats, both for pleasure and for commerce. Flowing through the city is the river, which drains it of its refuse. The houses of the poor are of pines, laid on each other crosswise to form a square; such are the narrow dwellings where the poor pass their lives. The roofs, which are formed of small planks fastened together with cords, are covered with a layer of earth sown freely with white or violet lilies. On the other hand, the rich have palaces of stone that are not without amenities. In their gardens are roseries and trees, more especially

plane-trees hung with vines. The inhabitants are fair and handsome, but are Muslims and heathens. They are timid, and not very much to be relied on. They are fond of visiting the tombs of their parents, and every day they visit the relics of their princes and kiss them reverently. Instead of ruling their actions by the will of God they consult their *taquivimum*, or, in other words, the prognostic of the stars; instead of resting in the mercy of Providence they trust in the auguries of the Brahmans. The fruits of the earth are good and numerous; corn and rice, a variety of lentils, grapes both red and white, and also apples and pears are for sale in the market the whole year round at low prices. Several languages are spoken: Arab, Persian, and Hindostani, besides Cashmiri, the language that belongs to the place.

We stayed in Cazimir for six months, daily studying the difficult and guttural language of the Persians, and the roads leading to Thibet, and also the roads in Thibet itself. We were told that the sparse populations of Thibet were chiefly nomadic shepherds who lead their flocks to wherever the snows have melted and allow of some pasturage, or wherever the sun's heat is more endurable. We were told that there were no shrubs in Thibet, nor trees. We learnt, too, that we must carry with us all our provisions, and must wear a double set of clothes, and must hire some men to guide us. I will not repeat what they told us about the depth of the snow (not to mention the snows that still might fall), and such fearful things about the rivers being frozen with the cold, etc., for if I should venture to repeat everything those people told us you might easily think I was trading on human credulity.

To continue: On the seventeenth day of May, in the Year of Grace 1715, having worshipped the Saviour, we started again on our journey. For eight days we travelled among fine trees which still had snow on them, and we forded several rivers, together with our servants who carried our baggage and who never failed to show us a cave in the rocks to pass the night in. At the end of eight days we arrived at some barren—or to use the Indian word—*ayâ* mountains; that is to say, the Black Mountains of Thibet. Towards dark it began to snow, so we made for a shelter for goats on the slope of another mountain but at no great distance, and there we slept.

The following morning we were standing at the entrance of our cave, looking at the fresh snow on the mountain, when our porters came to us and said: "Suppose we succeed in getting up that mountain, there will be the danger of one of us slipping and falling into the precipice. Would it not be better to follow the valley and inhabited places, where the whirling snow and the fierce winds and the want of sun would be more endurable, than perhaps be obliged to rescue a brother fallen into a precipice?" Nevertheless, we continued up the mountain, toiling through snow as deep in places as ten to fifteen

cubits. Though two men preceded us with hatchets, cutting away the snow and hewing steps for our feet, we did not get through it that day. Exhausted from toil we passed that night in a cave on another mountain. As snow had again begun to fall we put two of our servants, who were suffering from fever, in the back of our cave; everything else we left in the open. Having eaten voraciously of half-cooked rice we rested on the ground, not, however, sitting in our usual way, but squatting on our heels like Easterns. The following morning when we were standing at the entrance of our cave looking at the first rays of the dawn, Father Hyppolitus and one of our servants (a Christian) found that they could not distinguish them; and we saw then that their eyes were running with water from the glare of the snow. Upon this our Mussulman servants, who were lying on some rocks not far from our cave, implored us to return to Cazimir, saying that we had started on a foolhardy enterprise, and that if we persisted they would certainly all go blind from the glare. I addressed them as follows: "My brothers, what you say is reasonable; nevertheless if you do return to Cazimir having abandoned this journey, the day you enter the city you will be thrown into prison by my orders"; and taking their leader aside I furtively slipped him a coin, and said to him quietly, "You, their leader, do what you can to hearten and encourage them." Now the people of Cazimir are poor and humble, so I soothed them with soft words, and at last succeeded in quieting them. Finally they consented, and each tore a piece from his worn tunic which he rubbed in the charcoal of the spent fire and stretched it across his eyes like a veil. We Fathers did the same with some handkerchiefs, and also rubbed our eyes with snow, which certainly reduces inflammation. So we started once more on our way, and crossed the Synde [the Dras], a river which is born from these very snows. Having passed some inhabited places we arrived about noon at a spot that was free from snow, so we rested awhile, being sorely in need of it. Our porters deposited their loads and wetted their foreheads and feet with water from the river to check the humours from their eyes. But Father Hyppolitus and I, being little accustomed to the cold of those regions, were content with sprinkling our faces. Having rested and eaten some rice that remained from the day before, we resumed our journey along the banks of the Synde for several days, sleeping every night in the open. Then this river was received by another, coming from Ladâka [the Suru]; I mean that where formerly the rivers had been two they were now but one. This river flows to Little Tibet, inhabited by Mussulman shepherds; and from there it flows to Pexaor [Peshawar]; and ends up by swelling the great Indus. For a long time we travelled in those deserts, where we saw nothing but a few huts. At last, on June 25th, we arrived at Ladâka [Ladak], which is also known as Lê [Leh].

Ladâka is a small town, with a bare two thousand inhabitants. In

form it resembles a hive, that is to say each person lives in the cave that fortune has allotted him. These people are ruled by a King, whose name is Nima Nimojâl [Nyima Namgyal]. Sheep, goats, and lambs are their food; bread is unknown; but a favourite dish is the flour of parched barley, which they knead with their hands in wooden bowls and mix it with butter and *châ* [tea], which comes from China. So famished and filthy are these people that I once saw a Botian [Tibetan] woman eating lice. And when I forbad her to do it, saying to her "Mazo", which means in that language "do not eat", she told me she was dying of hunger and had nothing else to feed on.

After twenty-one days in Ladâka, we felt that our quest was in vain. Not only was there not a trace of the Capuchin Fathers, but not a person in that place had even heard of them; we were told in fact that the only Europeans who had ever visited Ladâka were ourselves. But at last we met with a native returned from Rudak [Rudok], who told us of a Third Thibet, larger than the others, and said that in that Third Thibet he had seen with his own eyes some poor-looking men, clad in robes, who were distributing medicines to the people, and he was sure that these men were Europeans. Understanding from his words that the men in question were the Capuchin missionaries, we asked him the distance to that Third Tibet, and he replied that the journey would be three months, and that a number of deserts lay between. Though greatly frightened by his words, for the season was late and the sun was soon to retire to the austral regions, we began at once to make ready for the journey.

While waiting in Ladâka we were summoned at times by the King—but he did not want to discourse on the Word of God, but only to ask for (and receive) some small presents. In reply to his question as to why we had come to those kingdoms, we told him we were seeking some brothers of our own religion who had come to Thibet before us; but that none of us had come to get rich through trading, but only to proclaim God to the people, and spread His Name among the populations; whereupon that barbarous fellow, not heeding our discourse in the least, merely asked us for three guns that we had at our inn, and offered in exchange four of his horses. So on leaving the King we proceeded to his Steward to receive the horses. The Steward treated us affably and asked us questions on the Word of God, or rather, he asked us the number of books containing the Law. On this our Mussulman interpreter, thrusting his voice into our talk, said they were four—the Books of Moses, of David, of Christ, and of Mahomet. But Father Hyppolitus and I, having learnt to count up to ten in the Botian language, corrected him: The Books of the Law, we said, were not four, but three; the Books of Moses, of David, and of Christ. Now when we had left the Steward, that Mussulman rebuked me, "My brother," he said, "when speaking of the Laws, if you have anything to object, you

should say it privately and not in public, for fear of offending your brothers." I answered: "My brother, what you say would be perfectly right if the topic were profane; but when the matter in question is the praising of God both you and I are bound in duty to proclaim it openly." And I added: "I know to my sorrow that I am nothing but a miserable stranger in this Kingdom—but you are not master here either, so begone."

In spite of the falls of snow, though the month was August, we continued to prepare for our journey. Having purchased the necessary provisions we procured three additional horses to carry our loads, and hired three servants—or, rather, thieves—to lead our horses and guide us in the desert. At last, on the sixteenth day of August, of the said year 1715, we started once more. We travelled for twenty days till the seventh of September, when exhausted by the cold and our horses dropping from hunger, we arrived at a small village called Texegam [Tashigong], having travelled in the company of a Mussulman whose friendship we had won by giving him small presents. We were furnished with a letter to a Lama, who lived with the others of his calling in the high part of the village, so we climbed to his house and presented it. When the Lama had perused his friend's words, and when we had given and received some presents, he told us he would do his utmost to help us to Lassa and bade us have courage. He then informed us that the widow of the deceased Governor of that region had been summoned to Lassa by the King and would proceed thither in October, and that he (the Lama) would arrange for us to travel in her company. "She cannot start," he said, "without coming to receive my blessing; and as soon as she arrives I will ask her to conduct you comfortably to Lassa. But as soon as Caçal (for that is the name of the Governor's widow) shall have come for my blessing, be sure you send her some presents, and pay her a visit. By then she will know my wishes concerning you and will certainly receive you kindly and guide you on the journey, and help you with stores." Having listened to the instructions of the Tartar priest, we returned to our tent in the plain. We stayed for a long time in that place, and our provisions became exhausted and we were forced to purchase food for our present needs and for the future. So very great was the cold and the intemperance of the air that one day when Father Hyppolitus was washing his forehead at the river, lifting the water to his face in his cupped hands, it actually froze on his beard, and a fine sight he looked with his face stuck round with icicles!

While waiting for the Governor's widow the Lama would sometimes send for us and occasionally would give us some provisions. Now and then he would ask questions about the habits of our country, and where it lay, and how many years it would take to reach it. And he once asked about the Law: "Is there one God?" he asked, "or many?" We answered: "There is one God and one only, without

beginning or end." And we talked of this matter at some length, and also of many things of the Lama's religion [*Omissis*].

Time went on and we were still on the banks of the river waiting for Caçal. On the last day but one of the month of September the air was strangely heavy, which filled us with great forebodings, so we took the precaution, before retiring, of tightening the ropes of our tent. So heavily did the snow fall that night that Father Hyppolitus, fearing that the Last Day had arrived, rushed forth from the tent, forgetting his stick, and took refuge in the kitchen of the Mussulman, who at once sent servants to fetch the rest of us, and carry our baggage. On the following day the poles of the tent collapsed from the weight of the snow, and it fell to the ground.

Having spoken here and there of " Lamas ", before proceeding, I will say something about the etymology of their name, their clothing, the temples, their recitations of prayers and their Superiors. " Lamo " in Botian means " way " ; from whence comes " Lama "—" he who shows the way ". These Lamas are dressed in gaiters of leather or wool, and in breeches ; their chests are protected by a vest, and their long tunic is tied at the waist by a belt or cord, like the tunic of our priests. Their heads are adorned by a " calamancho " or hat, which is sometimes shaped like a mitre and sometimes is worn transversally over the ears across the forehead and is nearly a cubit in length. The whole is in red. Their shoulders are covered by a plaid folded in such a manner as to leave their arms bare. Their temples are grandiose, and are not altogether filthy. The art of their buildings is mediocre. These Lamas are housed in cells surrounding the temple. They are certainly not shy of work, for if one of them perceives that he is not reading his portion fast enough, he courageously starts to commit the whole of it to memory. The Lamas have rations according to their rank ; for fuel they have the dung of oxen and of other beasts ; for food they have the flesh of oxen, goats, and sheep, and at times a small portion of parched barley. The highest in rank are served by the others at a small wage. The Lamas are admitted to the dignity while still adolescent, and are celibate. Nevertheless, when occasion offers they have no shame about sexual intercourse, nor even hide it. If one of these Lamas happens to marry (and it does happen at times, as I saw for myself at Ladâka) the others cease to trust him in matters spiritual ; it would seem as if, having lacked judgment in private life, he could no longer be useful to others spiritually.

These Botian, as also the Tartars (who are also known as Kelmakas and Sokpoz), do not base their religion on the use of food and drink, like the other Indians, but in certain recitations and sacrifices to Idols. When gifts are in question they are never contemptuous of others, whatsoever nation, family, or tribe they may belong to, but on the contrary are sociable and affable with everyone, and offer drink, and make sure that drink is offered back to them [*Omissis*].

Now, as everyone knows, the greater the distance a report comes from, the more it seems true, so that people at home consider the Grand Lama as a Sovereign Pontiff. But the truth is that *any* Lama, exercising his office independently, can call himself " grand ", while living in his *gompa* or monastery. The Tartars and Botian, who are the poorest of the peoples, make their gods very shabby oblations, as for instance images in butter, or barley, parched or plain. Generally their gods are in human form. They do not disdain to offer them horns of oxen or of goats, which they place more especially on the roads that cross the mountains. When it happens that a Superior dies, when he goes, that is, not into another body as they vainly believe, but down into the pit of Hell—instead of choosing a new Superior by election, they choose him by the work of the Demon. What happens is this : the Demon takes possession of some person, generally a kinsman of the deceased, and tells him of various hiding-places : " In such and such a place there is this or that amount of gold ; hurry and take it." Or : " In dying I left my gaiters on the bench ; take care that they do not rot." Or : " In my cell, on your left hand as you enter, next to the mousetrap, you will find my robe ; take care that the rats do not rest in it." Or : " Hurry to the stable and secure a heap of musk-skins I hid under the she-ass's manger ; I hid them there against thieves." And so on. Thus does the Devil triumph over souls, making them believe that the person has been born again. And that person possessed of the Demon becomes the head Lama of the whole monastery.

Now in due time that Governor's widow went to the Lama to ask for his blessing and permission to start. Accordingly we paid her a visit, and standing before her with hands uplifted in a worshipping attitude, we presented her with a piece of Bengal cloth nicely embroidered and red in colour (for the Tartars have a great liking for stuffs in red) and with ten crowns into the bargain. The lady whose pretty face was radiant at our gifts raised her eyes to ours and asked us with womanly curiosity : " To what do we owe your presence in these kingdoms, and where is Fate leading you now ? " Speaking through the mouth of the Mussulman interpreter, we told her we were bound for Lassa, but were ignorant of the climate and roads, so were very desirous of joining her party, if she, of her charity, would accept the company of well-meaning pilgrims. We added that we would give what money would be necessary. " But why this talk of money ? " said the woman. " If I help you on the journey and give of my provisions, it will not be because of money but because of Conchoquo [Kon-chog], or, in other words, because of God. In the meantime listen to my counsel. Horses are not dependable, for they die of hunger ; in the desert there is no fodder, but grass withered by the cold or covered with snow ; so besides horses, be sure to take some oxen, which moreover are better for your loads.

I am travelling with orders from the King: wheresoever I meet with Botian shepherds they are bound to carry my loads on their oxen till we meet with other shepherds; the new shepherds shall carry my loads till I meet with others, and so on. So the shepherds will lead us from pasture to pasture, and the needs of our horses and ourselves will be easier satisfied. For advantages so great as these you must not be afraid to spend a little money." So next day, on paying our visit, we offered her fifty crowns. "Lady," we said, "we are strangers here and ignorant of the language. We have five oxen, but do not know how to tell them from yours, or how to load them day by day. May we not hope that the lady Caçal's Steward, who has the whole of her affairs in his hands, will manage ours with the rest?" She answered: "You have done very well to remind me; hand my Steward everything, securely packed and sealed."

This we did; and at last, on the eighth of October, in the year of Grace 1715, trusting to God and to the power of the Word, we departed from the hovels of Texegam and started on our journey in the company of the Tartar lady, who was full of compassionate kindness and would often restore us from her own provisions. Often when that terrible cold and wind would chafe my face so severely as to make me exclaim (I confess it) "A curse on this cold!" she would comfort us with hot *châ*, and some meat. Through the mouth of her interpreter she would tell us to have courage, for no dangers from the mountains nor avalanches had power to harm us if we kept to her side. Once when she saw me frozen to a state of inertness, she commanded a servant to bring her some small goat-skins; and when he had brought them she said to me: "Hand me your coat," and she ordered one of her servants to line the sleeves with the goat-skins, the fur to the inside, and to place them in such a way that the hands should be always protected.

One day it happened that my horse began to bleed from the nostrils and stagger from hunger, and at last, towards night, sank dead in the snow. Having fallen behind the rest, I had no one near me but a Mussulman servant, and when daylight vanished I lost the traces of the others. All I could do was to lie against the horse's belly for the sake of its warmth and wait for the morning. But meanwhile Father Hyppolitus had apprised the Governor's widow of my absence, and that lady drew me back from the claws of death by sending me grooms with three horses and food to revive me. On the morrow she made me the gift of another saddle-horse. And so we departed from that place, with nothing before us but the open snow-fields.

Now in writing of this journey, whatever things I may fail to speak of (for naturally one cannot speak of everything), I must certainly tell how we lived in the desert in the next four months. Our first care on halting was to pitch our tent. Next we would shackle our horses and leave them to browse—not so much on grass, poor beasts, as on an

illusion of grass. Next we would all set forth in different directions, to gather cattle-dung—for the dung left by the cattle of travellers as they come and go is a valuable resource to the people who follow them. Having wrapped the dung in the flaps of our cloaks we would carry it to the camp, and divide it into two parts, one to be used for our fire of that night and the rest on the morrow. Rising betimes in the morning, we would strike a spark from a flint and light our fire and get warm at it. Next we would melt some ice and, adding to it *châ*, salt, and butter, would set it to boil. Then we would saddle our horses, which had spent the night in that miserable pasturage with hardly a blade to feed on. But every moment while saddling them we would return to the flame from fear of our hands getting frozen. Next we would sit in a circle round the fire waiting for our brew to be ready, with one hand holding the horse's bridle, but the other folded to our breasts. When the brew was ready we would bring out our wooden bowls from the midst of our furs and would sup this food, or rather, I should say, drink. This being done we would mount our horses and start on our journey. As we never undressed either night or day, our bodies were covered with vermin. Now and then, indeed, seated in the sun, we would remove some clothes, and were saved the trouble of picking the lice off one by one, for we could simply *sweep* them off.

Once we arrived in a place where the mountain was difficult to climb, and there was no forage. Two horses—one of a certain Botian and one of our own—dropped from hunger, so we left them to perish, having saved their halters. The place where we stopped at sunset had neither grass nor cattle-dung, so we waited there with our horses, expecting to die. It was then that I suddenly beheld a man running towards us on the snow and waving and shouting: "If you want hay and cattle-dung follow our example and go to Caçal." (We learnt later that provisions had been sent from a small village we were due to arrive at on the morrow.) So, slipping and sliding on the snow, I rushed to Caçal's tent and stopped with hands uplifted at its door. When the lady saw me she said: "But Lama, why do you stand out there? Why not come inside and get warm at the fire?" I answered, stammering, *Za menduc*, *xingue menduc*, which means "We have no straw, we have no fuel." Immediately Caçal gave orders that six sacks be filled with straw and sent to us, and as much cattle-dung as we required. After that day we began to meet with small populations, and the allowance of straw and fuel by order of the Tartar lady was delivered unfailingly.

Having left the desert behind us we arrived at some small villages whose names are no matter, and at last, on the fifteenth day of February, we came to one that was somewhat larger, whose name is Saquiâ [Sakya], and there we halted. Saquiâ is the place where the Capuchins halt when they travel to Lassa through Hindostan and Napal [Nepal]—

with the exception, however, of one of them, who travelled from Lassa to Bengal by way of Damaxor [Sikkim]. On the twenty-ninth, having left Saquiâ and the Governor's widow, we proceeded alone, unaccompanied, except by the Lord, and travelled to Zagarchê [Shigatse], and in twelve more days we arrived, at last, at Lassa.

Lassa is only the size of three parishes. It is now eleven years since the Tartars seized it from the Botians, and subdued it by force. At present, however, it is governed pacifically by a King called Jengeskan [Chingiz Khan]. In recent years there came to it five or six Capuchin missionaries, all from the Marches of Ancona. But not having reaped any spiritual harvest, or else for other reasons (for they do not speak languages), they left Lassa and went back to Bengal. Two of them died at Pattenâ [Patna]. Certainly these kingdoms are but little suited to Europeans, on account of the extreme cold and poverty of food.

Having established Father Hyppolitus at Lassa, on the sixteenth day of April, in the Year of our Redemption 1716, after travelling for forty-two days, I arrived finally in Napal, where I found five Capuchins, and remained with them five months. One of them died, leaving only four, one of whom was Father Domencio da Fano, the Prefect of the Mission of Thibet. But during that time Napal, which consists of three cities each ruled independently by a petty King, was scourged by a terrible plague; in less than three months the number of corpses burnt was close on twenty thousand.

Not only was the country scourged by the plague, but also by rebellion; the people rose against the King and expelled him with ignominy, and even broke into his Palace and put to death seven of his servants. Now the Devil (a sinner from the beginning and for ever gnawed by livid envy) saw in these events a chance for himself, so provoked those pagans to attack the Fathers. But truly an Angel protected us, for whether from a fall of rain in the night, or whether from their greed to rob the houses of the dead, those people were miraculously prevented from harming us. Their pretext for hating the Fathers (whom they also described as "Mogols") was their monk's robe. I must here explain that when the Fathers arrived in Pattenâ they were dressed in the dark-coloured robe of the Capuchins. Later, however, Cazino [the Khazi], the Inquisitor of the Law of the Mussulmans, conceived a friendship for Frey Felix, the Superior of the Capuchins, and one day begged him as a favour to discard the dark-coloured robe of his Order and to dress instead in blue. At the same time he handed the Father some pieces of cotton, saying to him affably: "Cut this stuff into robes and give them to be sewn." So the Capuchin Fathers, who were full of joy at the change, were soon dressed in blue. But it happened that later, when the plague broke out in Napal, those people took it into their heads to blame the colour of the Capuchins' dress, declaring that the blue was offensive to

the gods and had roused their fury to such an extent that they had broken the bridge that goes from Bengala to Lanca (for such is the name of an imaginary Ceilam at the bottom of the waters, or rather their Elysian Fields), and that the souls of the dead, not finding the bridge, were obliged to return, and vented their rage on the living by killing them. In short, to appease the wrath of the gods it was necessary to remove the cause, or in other words, to kill the Capuchin Fathers.

The Capuchins meanwhile decided on a wise action; they hurried to a shop and bought some white stuff, and hired some tailors, and in less time than it takes me to tell you they were all of them clothed in white in the Napal style. When the people saw them in white they exclaimed: "Ah, now you are dressed as you ought to be; you are not Mogols any more, but are people of Napal like ourselves." A few days later, leaving behind them one of the Fathers, the other three proceeded on horseback to Lassa, where they dwelt in the same house as Father Hyppolitus, together with some Botian families—the house, that is, where all the Capuchins stayed when in Lassa. It is the house of the Royal Treasury, and is hired at a monthly rent; for houses in Lassa are difficult to find.

In the meantime the Capuchin Fathers had completed a hospice at Chandenagor [Chandernagor] in Bengal, and a second at Pattenâ, and declared that they would build no fewer than three others; one at Napal, another at Lassa, and another still at Takpo, a city some ten or twelve days' distance from Lassa, where some grapes are to be found.

For myself, I left Napal for Pattenâ, and there, being struck down by a grave malady, was obliged to stay for three months. I lodged with some Dutch people, who drew me back from the brink of the grave, and not only nursed me at great expense to themselves but tended me with true and sincere love. As to the Capuchin missionaries, and especially the Reverend Frey Felix, my words fail me when I try to describe their charity. Father Felix sat at my pillow night and day and nursed me so skilfully and lovingly that, even were I possessed of not one, but a hundred tongues to speak with, I could never tell him sufficiently of my gratitude.

The above are the few lines written by Father Emanoel Freyre to report to Your Paternity on the mission to the Botians, and to give Your Paternity a little information, not only on the routes, but also on the Kingdoms of Thibet, and especially to report on the Propaganda Missionaries, who, in spite of the fact that they have done nothing at all for eleven years, are furious that the Jesuits should have put their sickle in the harvest that they looked on as theirs, and already have complained to Rome in a number of letters. I trust that the Reverend Father Hypollitus will write to Your Paternity more at length.

Very Reverend Father, I implore and beg your saving benediction.

Agra, April 26, 1717. Your subject in Jesus Christ,

EMANOEL FREYRE.

NOTES TO INTRODUCTION

By

C. WESSELS, S.J.

NOTES TO INTRODUCTION

[1] *Mongolicæ Legationis Commentarius* or the First Jesuit Mission to Akbar, by Fr. Anthony Monserrate, S.J., *Memoirs of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, vol. iii, No. 9 (Calcutta, 1914), p. 649.

[2] Letters of Fr. Jerome Xavier from Lahore, 25th July, 1598, and from Agra, 1st August, 1598: J. Hay, *De Rebus Japonicis, Indicis et Peruanis Epistulæ recentiores*, Antverpiæ, 1605, p. 796, 798 sq. See further, *Epistola Patris Nicolai Pimentæ Visitatoris Soc. Iesu in India Orientali ad R.P. Claudium Aquavivam*, Goæ viii, Kal. Jan. 1599, Romæ 1601, pp. 136–9.

[3] On 16th December, 1599, he wrote from Salsette to the General of the Society that he had placed himself at the disposal of Father Pimenta " para il Cataio discoverto questo anno, che sta nelle moraglie della Cina de parte di trāmōtana ".

[4] Antonio de Andrade, S.J., *Novo Descobrimento do Gram Cathayo, ou Reinos de Tibet, pello Padre Antonio de Andrade da Companhia de Jesu, Portuguez, no anno de* 1624, Lisboa, 1626. The account given in the text has been drawn from this publication, which almost immediately on its appearance was translated into several languages. For an extensive bibliography cf. Sommervogel, S.J., *Bibliothèque de la Compagnie de Jésus* (Bruxelles-Paris, 1890–1900), tome i, 329–31. Appendix p. vi; tome viii, 1639; and Cordier, *Bibliotheca Sinica* (Paris, 1904–8), 2898–2901. Andrade's publication has recently been re-edited by Francisco Maria Esteves Pereira in his *Estudo Histórico* (Coimbra, 1921), pp. 45–74. This journey by Andrade is treated at length by the writer of this introduction in *Early Jesuit Travellers in Central Asia*, The Hague, 1924, pp. 43–68.

[5] *Relaçam da Missam de Tibet, Goa, 20th February*, 1626. This MS. account has embodied in it a letter of Andrade from Tsaparang, 10th September, 1625. Nearly the whole of this letter is copied by Manoel da Veiga, S.J., in his *Relaçam geral da Christandade da Ethiopia . . . e do que de novo socedeo no descobrimento do Thybet, a que chaman gram Catayo* (Lisboa, 1628), fol. 105 verso–107 verso. The same is also given by Antonio Franco, S.J., in *Imagem da Virtude em o Noviciado da Companhia de Jesu na Corte de Lisboa* (Coimbra, 1717), pp. 400–2, and by Esteves Pereira, pp. 123–6.

[6] This is not the place to call attention to each of the many errors of fact or judgment that are to be found even in recent works, in which Andrade's journey or the Tsaparang mission are spoken of. The reader will find many of them discussed in *Early Jesuit Travellers in Central Asia, passim.*

[7] Andrade, *Letter from Tsaparang, 15th August*, 1626, *to the*

General of the Society of Jesus in Rome. Part of this letter is given by da Veiga and by Franco, pp. 403–18. The Portuguese text is printed in full from the extant MS. by Esteves Pereira, pp. 75–120; cf. also pp. 114–16. A Spanish translation appeared as early as 1627, and an Italian in the next year.

[8] Esteves Pereira, p. 86.

[9] João de Oliveira, born in 1595, at Daman, south of Surate, became a Jesuit at the age of 17. Sent to Tsaparang in 1626, he remained in Tibet till October, 1631, when he was called upon to share the hazards of Father de Azevedo's expedition to Leh in Ladakh. After his return to Agra he was employed in the Mogor mission, as appears from the lists of missionaries for 1626 and 1641. After this his name is not found any more and the date of his death remains unknown.

[10] Alano dos Anjos' real name was Alain de la Beauchère. Born at Pont-à-Mousson in Lorraine, in 1592, he entered the Society of Jesus in 1607, and in 1622 was sent to India, where to conform to an established custom he adopted a Portuguese name. When he was directed to Tibet, he had just applied for the mission of China or Japan, as appears from a letter he wrote to the General, dated Goa, 13th February, 1625. He was still in Tibet in 1633, though it is unknown when he quitted this country. In 1636 he moved from Agra to Srinagar in Garhwal, where he died shortly afterwards. Southwell (*Bibliotheca Scriptorum Societatis Jesu*, Romæ, 1676) speaks highly of him as a mathematician.

[11] Francis Godinho was born at Evora in Portugal in 1569, entered the noviciate in 1615, and sailed for India in 1619. Owing to ill-health he stayed in Tibet for less than a year, and after two years spent in the Mogor mission he became permanently attached to the mission district of Goa, where he was engaged at Daman, Diu, Goa, and Bassein. He died at Goa 30th January, 1662. Sommervogel (iii, 1521) confuses him with a certain Francis Godin of Mons, in Belgium, who was never in Tibet.

From Tsaparang, 16th August, 1626, Godinho wrote a letter which has been preserved in *Advis certain d'une plus ample descovverte dv Royavme de Catai, Avec quelques autres particularitéz notables de la coste de Cocincina & de l'antiquité de la Foy Chrestienne dans la Chine*, Tirées des lettres des P.P. de la C. de J. de l'année 1626, Paris, 1628, pp. 4–11. An English translation by H. Hosten, S.J., is found in the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, N.S. xxi (1925), pp. 61–73. After Andrade's letter of 15th August, it contributse nothing towards our present purpose.

[12] Esteves Pereira, pp. 109 and 111.

[13] *MS. Letter of 2nd September*, 1627.

[14] Lud. Carrez, S.J., *Atlas Geographicus Societatis Jesu* (Parisiis, 1900), map 42, "Antiqua Provincia Goana," gives the following

mission stations in the Himalaya mountains and Little Tibet: Mana, Chaprang, Boroa, and Ladak. Of these only Chaprang (Tsaparang) and Boroa (Rodoa or Rudok) are correct. Neither at Ladak (Leh) nor at Mana were there ever any mission posts. On the other hand there was one at Srinagar (Garhwal), which is omitted.

[15] Father de Castro writes from Kahsmir, 26th July, 1627: "Two months ago there arrived here F. Francisco Godinho, who returned from Tibet because he was ill there."

[16] Antonio Pereira was born at Lixa in Portugal in 1596, and joined the Society in 1612. He left for India in 1624, and was appointed to the Mogor mission in 1626. The period of his stay is uncertain. In a letter of F. Francisco Corsi to the Provincial at Goa, dated 13th June, 1628, it is said that during Holy Week of that year F. Antonio Pereira was at Agra. This looks like an error, unless it should refer to a namesake of Pereira's. It is a fact that on 12th November, 1627, he was at Tsaparang, since on that day he wrote a letter from that place. How then can he have been at Agra in the week 16th–23rd April, 1628? It seems more probable that in 1629 or 1630 he went back from Tsaparang to Goa, for in 1631 he set out once more from this place for Tibet, which, however, he did not reach, for he broke off his journey at Agra. In June, 1636, he again passed through this town on his way to Srinagar in Garhwal, where he stayed till October, 1637. After that we lose sight of him, and according to Hosten he probably left the Society a few years later. "List of Jesuit Missionaries in Mogor, 1580–1803," *Journal and Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, vol. vi (1910), p. 532.

[17] "Hua terra aqual promette mais de si que nenhua que ategora ouvi nomear, por ser a gente docil e de boa natura."

[18] "Sera hua das mais florentes que tem hoje a Companhia."

[19] In Andrade's correspondence of the year before she was an Utsang princess, which, also from other data, seems more probable.

[20] Besides the site for the church and the dwelling-house the king set apart a sum of 6,000 cruzados as an endowment of the mission. Letter of 29th August, 1627.

[21] Andrade, *Letter of 29th August*, 1627.

[22] According to N. Sotellus, *Bibliotheca Scriptorum Societatis Jesu* (Romæ, 1676), p. 64, Andrade went to Goa to obtain assistance, but was appointed Provincial on his arrival there. As a matter of fact the exact course of events is not known.

[23] Jul. Cordara, S.J., *Historiæ Societatis Jesu Pars sexta, complectens res gestas sub Mutio Vitellescho*, Tomus i (Romæ, 1750), p. 527.

[24] The chronicles of Ladakh (La-Dvags-Rgyal-Rabs) relate that king Sen-ge-rnam-rgyal made war against Guge, took Rtsa-bran (Tsaparang) and made the king prisoner. Ru-thog (Rudok) also was conquered. A son of the king of Ladak, Indra-bhoti-rnam-rgyal, was appointed governor of Guge. Cf. A. H. Francke, *Antiquities*

of Indian Tibet, part ii (Calcutta, 1926), p. 110. In the chronicles of the kings of Guge all these events are passed over in silence.

[25] Antonio da Fonseca had arrived in 1629. A native of Mourao, where he was born in 1600, he had entered the Society at the age of 20.

[26] Dominic Capece was born at Rome in 1598, and became a Jesuit in 1619. He was sent to India in 1629, and stayed behind at Agra when on his way to Tibet. He died in the Mogor mission 26th March, 1634.

[27] Born at Parma (at Bologna according to others) in 1597, Francis Morando entered the Society in 1618, and went to India in 1629. Staying behind at Agra he was engaged in the Indian mission for over twenty-two years, at least till 1653, as the catalogues inform us. For sixteen years he was attached to the court of the Governor of Bengal, and in 1649 he was at Agra to have the Persian works of Father Jerome Xavier copied. Cf. J. Maracci, S.J., *Relation de ce qui s'est passé dans les Indes Orientales en ses trois Provinces de Goa, de Malabar, du Japon, de la Chine et autres païs nouvellement descouverts. Par les Pères de la Compagnie de Jésus*, Traduction de J. Machault (Paris, 1651), pp. 23 and 65. From a letter of F. Antonio Ceschi from Delhi in 1654 (Munich, State Archives, *Jesuitica in genere*, fasc. 13, no. 293), it appears that in 1653 he was appointed to a new mission station at Visapore. He died 7th July, 1655, at the new college of St. Paul at Goa. The catalogue of 1647 refers to his knowledge of Hindustani and Persian: "Sabe perfeitamente as linguas Industana e Parçia." Cf. also H. Hosten, "The Marsdem MSS. in the British Museum," *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, N.S. vi (1910), p. 459, note 2.

[28] Born at Lisbon in 1578, Francis de Azevedo joined the Society of Jesus at Goa at the age of 19. On completing his studies he was stationed at several places; at Diu in 1614, and at Rachol in 1620, after which he was appointed Visitor to the mission of Monomotapa in South Africa. In 1627 he went to the Mogor mission, and was already 52 when he received his commission for Tsaparang. After his journey to Leh he spent more than twenty-five years at the various mission stations of India, last of all at Goa, where he died 12th August, 1660.

[29] For an account of the whole of this remarkable journey, the first visit of a European to Ladak and Leh, the reader is referred to *Early Jesuit Travellers in Central Asia*, pp. 94–119 and 282–313.

[30] All the letters of F. de Castro are still extant in MS.

[31] Antonio de Andrade was born in 1580 at Oleiros, a small country town in the Portuguese province of Beira Baixa, and entered the Society of Jesus, 15th December, 1596. Four years later he was sent to India, where he finished his studies. After being engaged in missionary work at Salsette and governing the colleges of Rachol and

of St. Paul at Goa, he had the government of all the mission stations in the territory of the Great Mogul entrusted to him. He had discharged this office for three years when he began his work of exploration in Tibet.

As regards the cause of his death, Barbosa Machado (*Bibliotheca Lusitana historica, critica e chronologica*, vol. i, Lisboa, 1741, p. 202) makes the Mohammedans responsible, while A. Franco, S.J. (*Imagem da Virtude em o Noviciado da Companhia de Jesu na Corte de Lisboa*, Coimbra, 1717, p. 416), explicitly states that the criminal was a Portuguese.

[32] Nuño Coresma was born in 1600, probably at San Roman, a village in the district of Tordesillas in Spain. At the age of 16 he entered the Society of Jesus and went to India in 1625. After his return from Tsaparang he was at the head of the college of Tanna, or Thana, on the island of Salsette. After 1641 his name is no longer found in the catalogues. In the list for 1653, however, it is noted that F. Nonius Coresma on his way to India perished in October, 1650, off the coast of Mozambique near the river Licungo. Very likely he had been sent to Europe after 1641 and was returning to his mission when he met his death.

[33] Coresma, *First Letter of 30th August*, 1635. The three missionaries left behind at Srinagar were F. Pietro de Freytas, a Portuguese, *ob.* at Goa, 3rd May, 1640; F. Balthasar Caldeira, a native of Macao, *ob.* at Goa, 3rd May, 1678; and Brother Barreiros, of Lisbon, *ob.* 8th March, 1666. The names of the two who died on the way have remained unknown.

[34] Coresma, *First Letter of 30th August*, 1635.

[35] Desideri's estimate of the number of Christians at the outbreak of the persecution is 400. This number derives no support from the letters of the missionaries.

[36] Coresma, *First and Second Letters of 30th August*, 1635. The station of Rudok is not specially mentioned in either of the letters.

[37] Though Brother Marques is not alluded to by Coresma, there can be no doubt that he left together with his Superior.

[38] Cordara, i, p. 528.

[39] *Letter of de Castro, dated Agra, 17th September*, 1636.

[40] Stanislas Malpichi was born at Catanzaro in 1600.

[41] *Letter of de Castro, Agra, 16th April*, 1637.

[42] *Letter of de Castro, Agra, 29th October*, 1637.

[43] They were Thomas de Barros, Ignatius a Cruce and Aloysius de Gama.

[44] *Letters of de Castro, Agra, 1st September and 3rd October*, 1640.

[45] Cordara, i, p. 529.

[46] *Letter of de Castro, Lahore, 25th August*, 1641.

[47] *Letter of de Castro, Lahore, 1st January*, 1642.

[48] There are hardly any biographical details of Brother Marques.

The writer has only been able to ascertain that he was born at Massao (?) in 1596 and entered the Society of Jesus in 1618.

[49] In the opinion of Professor Dr. A. H. Francke, the silence of the Tibetan annals should cause no surprise. Among Tibetans, too, the policy of silence is deemed a most efficient weapon against religious rivals. They worked it with regard to the Moravian mission as they had done at an earlier date with reference to the introduction of Mohammedanism in Baltistan and Ladakh. Cf. " Die Jesuitenmission von Tsaparang im Lichte der tibetischen Urkunden," *Zeitschrift für Missionswissenschaft*, xv (1925), pp. 271–2.

[50] G. Mackworth Young, "A Journey to Toling and Tsaparang in Western Tibet," *Journal of the Panjab Historical Society*, vii (Calcutta, 1919), n. 2, pp. 196 and 198. The last statement in the text is unfortunately not correct. The king was never baptized and received into the Church. That this was the great hope of the missionaries, and that the king himself spoke of being received together with his son after the queen should have been baptized is abundantly clear from Andrade's letter of 29th August, 1627. F. de Azevedo, too, writes that the king was inclined to become a Christian and had even promised to receive baptism, but he adds that on account of illicit cohabitation the baptism had to be put off.

[G. Tucci, who visited Tsaparang in September, 1933, found it reduced to a vast heap of deserted ruins and described what remains of decayed temples and palaces. The wooden cross lying on the top of a chorten mentioned by Young, according to Tucci, is nothing more than the central pole axis of the chorten, bearing a cross-beam near the top, to support the terminal symbol, crescent and disc. G. Tucci—E. Ghersi, *Cronaca della Missione Scientifica Tucci nel Tibet Occidentale*, 1933 (Roma, 1934), p. 333 seqq.]

[51] *Letter of 10th September*, 1625.

[52] Esteves Pereira, p. 111.

[53] Fr. Baretto, S.J., *Relatione delle Missioni e Christianità che appartengono alla Provincia di Malavar della Compagnia de Giesù* (Roma, 1645), p. 114.

[54] Estevão Cacella was born in 1585 at Aviz, in the diocese of Evora, became a Jesuit at the age of 19, and sailed for India in 1614. On completing his studies he was at least for some years stationed in Cochin.

[55] João Cabral, a native of Celorico in the province of Beira (Portugal), where he was born in 1599, joined the Society of Jesus in 1615, and went out to India in 1624. His short visit to Tibet is only an episode in the long tale of his travels. For years after he was engaged in mission work in Cochin, in Japan, in Tonkin; then at Malacca and at Macao, and lastly as Provincial of the vice-province of Japan from 1650 to 1654. On his return to India he remained in the province of Goa, and among others was stationed for four years

at Salsette. He died at Goa, 4th July, 1669. Cf. Sommervogel, ii, col. 494, and viii, col. 1956.

[56] Bartolomeo Fonteboa was born at Florence in 1576. He entered the Society at the age of 23, and went to India in 1602. He had been a painter at Chandragirī and perhaps in other places also, when he was sent on this expedition. He died at Hugli on 26th December, 1626.

[57] These missionary efforts in Eastern Tibet are but scantily treated in the old accounts; among the least unsatisfactory are Baretto, pp. 114–17, and Cordara, ii, p. 132, n. 114–15. For a full historical reconstruction based on a number of unpublished documents, letters, and reports, the reader is referred to the work already cited, *Early Jesuit Travellers in Central Asia*, pp. 120–63 and 314–36.

[58] *Letter of 10th July*, 1626. Here we have another instance of the use of the name Cathay for Tibet.

[59] *Report addressed by F. Cacella to F. Albert Laertius in Cochin, dated 4th October*, 1627.

[60] Andrade, *Letter of 2nd September*, 1627.

[61] *Letter of 17th June*, 1628. He arrived at Hugli in April.

[62] Cf. *Early Jesuit Travellers in Central Asia*, pp. 158–9 and 301–2.

[63] Manuel Diaz was born in 1592, at Aspelhão in the diocese of Portalegre, became a Jesuit in 1608, and left for India in 1614. After completing his studies he first worked in Cochin, then for one year he was Rector of the College of San Thomé, after which he received orders for Cacella's mission. Cf. L. Besse, S.J., and H. Hosten, S.J., "List of Portuguese Jesuit Missionaries in Bengal and Burma (1576–1742)," *Journal and Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, vii (1911), p. 22, note 1; Sommervogel, iii, col. 44, and ix, col. 212 and 1763. According to A. Franco, S.J., *Imagem da Virtude em o Noviciado de Evora* (Lisboa, 1714), p. 495, his death occurred at a village called Oacho.

[64] Cabral's letter, therefore, makes it certain that Cacella did not die in Guge as stated by Besse, p. 20, note 4; nor at Tsaparang as given by De Queyros, *Historia da Vida do Veneravel Irmão Pedro de Basto* (Lisboa, 1689), p. 222.

[65] Cordara, ii, p. 132.

[66] Lud. Carrez, map 42, gives Lhasa as the only mission post in Central Tibet. Shigatse is not found on the map nor is it mentioned in the legend.

[67] Michael de Amaral was born 13th December, 1657, at Viseu in Portugal, and entered the Society in 1677, at Coimbra, where he died 14th December, 1730.

[68] *Letter of F. John Carvalho, dated Goa, January* 15, 1708, and *Letter of F. Peter Gill, dated Goa, February* 2, 1708. A copy of the second letter is at the State Library of Munich, Clm 26472.

[69] "*Ex data occasione valde commendamus ut . . . ferventius agatur de reditu ad Tibetum. Nec deterreant ullae difficultates, nam causa Dei est, qui iam sternit viam per Mogolense imperium.*"

[70] Franz Borgia Koch was an Austrian. Born at Klagenfurt, 10th October, 1678, he entered the Society 20th October, 1695, and according to Franco went to India in 1709. He died at Agra. In a letter from Goa he writes that he is under orders for Tibet, " whose king has insistently asked for missionaries." Cf. Jos. Stöcklein, *Der neue Welt-Bott* I (Augsburg und Gratz, 1726), Pars 5, fol. 83–4. The date of the letter as given there, 1706, is certainly erroneous; it must be 1709.

[71] Writing from Daman to the General, 29th November, 1713, he sums up under four heads the reasons for giving up that mission, and concludes with an appeal for his recall to Europe " since he has deserved better than to live an exile in this strange land ". Evidently this man was not the stuff of which missionaries are made, and that he could be mistaken for a possible successor of an Andrade seems, to say the least, somewhat surprising.

[72] Letter from Goa, 12th November, 1713 : " Si compiace S.D.M. per mezzo del P. Provinciale destinarmi alla nuova Missione del Tibet."

Letter from Goa, 15th November, 1713 : ". . . nella quale espressamente mi dà ordine di andar' ad aprir la Missione del Tibet, e di andare con l'autorità e dipendenza immediata di V.P."

[73] Letter from Surat, 30th December, 1713 : ". . . que si degni con la sua autorità di confirmarmi l'avviso di andar' a riaprire la Missione del Tibet datomi in Goa dal P. Provincial."

[74] Letter of Desideri to Father Francesco Piccolomini, dated Agra, 21st August, 1714. Cf. *Atti e Memorie del Convegno di Geografi Orientalisti tenuto in Macerata, Settembre*, 1910 (Macerata, 1911), pp. 33 and 37–8. In none of Desideri's writings is there any mention of a journey to Tsaparang by way of Srinagar in Garhwal.

[75] In 1704 the Congregation de Propaganda Fide had assigned the mission of Tibet to the Capuchins. This decision, however, had not been notified to the authorities of the Society of Jesus, so that as late as 1713 the General, Father Michele Tamburini, unaware of the transfer, still considered this territory to be under his jurisdiction. Cf. Tamburini's letter to Desideri at Lhasa dated Rome, 16th January, 1719, in Dr. P. A. Jann Ord. Min. Cap., *Die katholischen Missionen in Indien, China und Japan* (Paderborn, 1915), pp. 392–3. The few lines given by him to the Jesuit mission in Tibet reveal but slight acquaintance with the state of affairs.

[76] Letter of Desideri to the General, dated Leh, 5th August, 1715. Cf. Puini, *Il Tibet secondo la relazione del Viaggio del P. Ipp. Desideri* (Roma, 1904), pp. 367–70. Andrade was never at Lhasa at all. In this letter Desideri refers to a rumour to the effect that ten or twelve years earlier the king of Utsang sent people to Mogor in

search of Fathers of the Society, because a dress, a biretta, and other things belonging to Father de Andrade were there. Supposing the rumour to be correct, these objects had most probably belonged to F. Cacella, who died at Shigatse, or to FF. Grueber and d'Orville, who passed through Lhasa in 1661.

[77] Emanoel Freyre was born at Ancião in Portugal in 1679 and entered the Society at Goa, 7th October, 1694. In 1710 we find him engaged in the Agra mission, to which he returned after his Lhasa journey. After 1719 his name disappears from the yearly lists. There can be no doubt that he left the Society, for in a letter to the General written from Goa, 10th December, 1724, he petitions for his readmission. The reply is not known, but the catalogue of 1728 has a note appended to the effect that the name of Emanoel Freyre has not been entered because he will not be able to present himself till after a month. Nothing seems to have come of the affair, for his name is not seen either in the catalogues of later years or in the *Catalogus Defunctorum*.

On 26th April, 1717, Freyre wrote from Agra a short account entitled *Tibetorum ac eorum relatio viarum* to the General at Rome. The MS. (see Appendix) of twelve pages is at the Biblioteca Vittorio Emanuele, Fondo Gesuitico, 1384–3313, fasc. 32.

[78] Cf. *Missio Apostolica Thibethano-Serafica, das ist Neue durch Päbstlichen Gewalt in dem Grossen Tibetanische Reich von denen P.P. Capucinern aufgerichtete Mission* (München, 1740), ii, p. 4; and Aug. A. Georgius, *Alphabetum Tibetanum missionum apostolicarum commodo editum* (Romæ, 1762), p. 331.

[79] Desideri, *Letter of 15th February*, 1717. Cf. Puini, pp. 372–3. *Missio Apostolica*, ii, p. 48. The date and, indeed, the whole version given by Jann, p. 391, is quite wrong.

[80] Desideri expressly notes that he took the book with him on quitting the country. As has been stated elsewhere at greater length (*Early Jesuit Travellers in Central Asia*, p. 274), there are still extant four of Desideri's MSS. in Tibetan, 1,003 pages in all. What may be their scientific value must be left for Tibetan scholars to settle.

NOTES TO BOOK THE FIRST

(See Bibliography at end of Volume)

[1] Calumba, or calomba, columba, etc., is the root of *Jateorhiza palmata*, indigenous of Mozambique, used as an eupeptic and astringent.

The Lopo root is probably the so-called root of Lopez, *Radix indica Lopeziana* (Baillon, *Traité de Botanique médicale*, Paris, 1884, p. 862)—introduced into medicine by Gobins, botanically *Toddalia aculeata* Pers. (*T. asiatica*); and also perhaps some cognate species, such as the *paniculata* Sav. of the Mascar Islands, or the *lanceolata* L. of tropical Africa. It was used as stomachic, and in the cure of malaria, intermittent fevers, cholera, dysentery, rheumatism, etc. (See Dujardin—Beaumets, *Les Plantes Médicinales*, 1889; Dragendorf, G., *Die Heilpflanzen*, 1898.)

[2] For the more usual form *omra*, which is a corruption of the Arabic *umarā*, plural of *amīr*, Desideri writes *ombrá*, or *ombrão*, with *ombrai* as the plural. This form is not recorded in *Hobson-Jobson*.

[3] The prince proclaimed was Rafī 'ud-Darajāt. Nikū Siyār was another prince, who set up a rival claim at Agra, and surrendered after the town had been besieged for five weeks. Nāsir-ud-Din, Muhammad Shāh came to the throne on September 24, 1719. This historical sketch is missing in the Florentine MS.

[4] The Emperor was at the head of a military expedition sent to subdue Nizām ul-Mulk, Governor of Deccan. This expedition was interrupted by the events in Delhi following the assassination of Husayn 'Ali Khān.

[5] Desideri's account of the vicissitudes of the Moghul Empire from the reign of Jahāndār Shah till that of Nāsir-ud-din Muhammad Shāh (1713–19) is confirmed in all its details by the historians of the last Moghul sovereigns. (See Abstracts of Moghul history, from contemporary Oriental Manuscripts in J. Fraser's *History of Nādir Shah, Emperor of Persia*, London, 1742; James Tod's *Annals of Rajast'han*, 2nd ed., 2 vols., London, 1914; W. Irvine's *Later Mughals*, edited by Jadunath Sarkar, 2 vols., Calcutta, 1922.)

Desideri, of course, is only concerned here with the violent deeds and fratricidal struggles which were common to every change of succession of the Moghuls; he does not mention the wars undertaken by the Empire against the provinces continually in rebellion against it, such as the wars against the Rajputs and the Sikhs. Nevertheless, his account is extraordinarily exact in all its details, as, for instance, the rivalry between the two Sayyids and Mīr Jumla, and the murder

of Husayn 'Ali Khān, referred to in identical terms by Irvine. As is natural, the judgments and moral distinctions of Desideri are the reflection of the partisan judgments of contemporaries. The actors of the story were more or less birds of a feather, except perhaps the last of them, Muhammad Shah, who seems to have been a little more human.

[6] When Desideri traversed the Rajput country, the three principal reigning houses were the Sisodias of Mewar, or Udaipur; the Rathors of Marwar, or Jodhpur; and the Kachwahas of Amber. The centre of the Moghul authority in the whole country was Ajmer. The Rana of Udaipur at that time (from 1707) was Amar Singh, the second of his name; the Rajah of Amber was Jai Singh (from 1699); the head of the Rathors of Jodhpur was Ajit Singh. This last-named, after the death of Bahādur Shah, expelled the imperial officers of Jodhpur and possessed himself of Ajmer; and in January, 1714, Farrukh Siyar dispatched Sayyid Husayn 'Ali Khān to quell the revolt. In the following April—at the time, that is, of Desideri's passage through the country—a peace was concluded. It was agreed, among other conditions, that Ajit Singh should give his daughter in marriage to Farrukh Siyar and send his son as hostage. Subsequently Ajit Singh conspired with the two Sayyids to suppress Farrukh Siyar, and he continued to exercise influence during the various successions which followed. (See Tod, *Rajast'han*, vol. i.)

[7] Shāh Jahān on removing from Agra to Delhi built there a new city, which was called after himself, Shāhjahānābād.

[8] The European embassies to the Moghul court did not on the whole speak well of the attitude of the French doctor Martin—neither the Dutch Embassy under Johan Josua Ketelaar in 1711–12 (François Valentijn, *Oud-en Nieuw Oost-Indiën*, Amsterdam, 1724–6, vol. iv), nor the English Embassy of the East India Company under John Surman, of which Dr. William Hamilton was a member. The surgical operation successfully performed on Farrukh Siyar by Dr. Hamilton was probably the cause of the first Royal Grant or Firmān, which conferred territorial possessions and commercial privileges on the British East India Company. (See the Surman Diary in *Early Annals*, by C. R. Wilson, vol. ii, part 2.)

[9] Bahādur Shah's name, before his accession, was Muhammad Mu'azzam. During the lifetime of Aurangzib he was styled Shāh 'Ālam.

[10] The little we know of this remarkable woman, Donna Giuliana Diaz da Costa, confirms Desideri's account in its general lines. Niccolao Mannucci, the Venetian (*Storia do Mogor*, ed. by W. Irvine, 4 vols., London, 1907), who was physician to Bahādur Shah between 1678 and 1686, does not mention her at all. But he never actually set eyes on the ladies of the Mahal; all he did was to feel their pulses, the women thrusting their hands through a curtain for the purpose. He

had a grudge against all Portuguese, and he disapproved of women doctors.

The only contemporary information besides Desideri's is given us by F. Valentijn (vol. iv, part ii, see note 8), who rates at its full importance Donna Giuliana's support of the Dutch Embassy under Heer Johan Josua Ketelaar to Bahādur Shah and his successors.

The portrait of Donna Juliana reproduced on p. 64 was made in India for Heer Ketelaar.

Towards 1774, the French colonel J. B. Gentil, who in 1772 had married Teresa Velho, a great-grand-niece of Giuliana, had a biography of his wife's ancestress written in Persian by a certain Gastin (or Gastine, or Gaston) Brouet. There is a manuscript copy of this work in the British Museum, and another in the Pote Collection in the King's College, Cambridge. It was put into French by Professor E. H. Palmer in the *Nouvelles Annales des Voyages*, ed. by Maltebrun, (vi[e] série, vol. 186, 1865, pp. 161–184); and finally, Colonel Gentil's *Mémoires sur l'Hindoustan, ou Empire Mogul*, Paris, 1822, contains a biography of Giuliana (pp. 367–380). Both these biographies have doubtful statements on her early life. It is certain, however, that her father and her family were admitted to the court of Shah 'Alam (later Bahādur Shah) before he fell into adversity and was imprisoned by Aurangzib, in March, 1686. During the seven years of his imprisonment Giuliana remained devoted to him, and served the Begum (either his mother or his wife) as attendant. When Shah 'Alam returned to favour and was liberated, in 1693, she accompanied him to Cabul; and in 1707, when he succeeded Aurangzib to the throne with the name of Bahādur Shah, she returned with him to India. He never ceased to treat her with the greatest affection, and gave her a position of high honour at the court. When Bahādur Shah died in 1712, Giuliana continued to wield influence at court under his successors, Jahāndār Shah and Farrukh Siyar, though the Wazir Sayyid 'Abdullah Khan was hostile to her. It was due to Giuliana that the East India Company Embassy was favourably received (see note 8). She also lent money to Freyre and Desideri for their journey to Tibet, in 1714 (Sir E. Maclagan, p. 184). Always treated with high consideration, she remained at court until the death of Muhammad Shah in 1724. She died in 1734 (1732, according to Gentil, who adds that she was buried at Agra; but Maclagan, p. 186, notes that we have no trace of her tomb there).

Donna Giuliana had introduced to the court a sister, called Angelica, who married Velho de Castro, and whose daughter, Isabella Velho, took over from Giuliana her court duties, and later was married to Diogo Mendes de Castro, by whom she had five daughters, all of them employed in turn at the Court. Teresa, the daughter of the youngest of them, was in 1772 married to Colonel Gentil, and accompanied him to France, as did also her mother.

The few facts that are known of the life of Giuliana were collected by J. A. Ismael Gracies, and published in the paper *O Oriente Portuguez* (no indication of place of publication; perhaps Goa?), vol. vii, 1910, pp. 69–70, 131 sq., 182 sq., with the title *Una Dona Portugueza na Corte do Grão Mogol.* See also *Notes on a paper read by Mr. Beveridge* on this subject, published in the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, 1903, pp. 244–5.

[11] This is a mistake. Aquaviva's mission to the Moghul Court lasted from 1580 to 1583, when Akbar was already Emperor, having ascended the throne in 1556.

[12] The first Jesuit mission to Akbar was that of Rudolf Aquaviva and Father Antonio de Monserrate. The second mission was dispatched from Goa in 1591; it was formed by the Fathers Duarte Leitão and Christoval de Vega. The third mission was the one entrusted in 1595 to Father Hieronimo Xavier, assisted by the Fathers Manuel Pinheiro and Bento de Goes. (See Father Pierre du Jarric, S.J., *Akbar and the Jesuits*, translated and edited by C. H. Payne, London, 1926.) The Catholic Armenian alluded to by Desideri is Mīrzā Zū'lqarnain, about whom see Sir E. Maclagan, ch. xi. Father H. Xavier died at Goa (1617), and was not buried at Agra, where there is the tomb of Father F. Xavier (1767). (See Sir E. Maclagan, pp. 51, 84, and 330.)

[13] This was Father Emanoel Freyre, not mentioned by name by Desideri until Chapter XVI of Book I. Puini (*Tibet*, p. 6) asserts that Father da Silva had already appointed Father Freyre to accompany Desideri at Surat.

[14] To the North, on leaving Lahore, the river Ravi, a tributary of the Chenab, is crossed, and some distance before reaching Gujarat, the Chenab itself is crossed. The Indus does not come into the itinerary at all. Freyre (see *Appendix*) correctly mentions the Ravi.

[15] The name Caucasus has been applied from the earliest times to one or another portion of the great mountain zone which was supposed to traverse Asia from West to East. Alexander's historians call the Hindu Kush Caucasus, and Arrian applies the name to the Himalaya also.

[16] The route to Kashmir here described is the one over the Pir Panjal Pass, which was the usual route prior to the building of the carriage road from Rawal Pindi up the valley of the Jhelum. The Moghul Emperors used to ride over the Pir Panjal to spend the summer months in Kashmir, with their gorgeous suite, including elephants. François Bernier has described the journey which he made thither in the suite of Emperor Aurangzib in 1665 (see A. Constable's edition of Bernier's *Travels in the Mogul Empire*, 1656–68, London, revised ed., 1891, p. 350 sq.).

[17] The Kashmir shawls are not made from sheeps' wool, but from wool of the *tus*, the shawl-goat of Tibet.

[18] Desideri's description does not give us much clue to his itinerary. The "Kantel" pass has been identified by all with the well-known Zoji La (11,300 feet), the Himalayan pass used from time immemorial by traders between Kashmir—and indirectly between India and Afghanistan—and Baltistan, Ladak, and Tibet. Kantel, in fact, is marked on some of the old maps. G. T. Vigne (vol. ii, p. 395) calls it Paien-i-Kotal, or Bal-tal. It is often covered with snow as late as May.

The first inhabited spot beyond the pass is a little hamlet called Mutayun; but Desideri and his companion could not possibly have done the distance from Baltal in a day. According to Freyre they took two, passing the first night in a cave, probably beyond the top of the pass, but not very far beyond it. From Mutayun it is easy to reach the village of Dras in a day. Desideri does not mention Dras in his report, but in a letter of August 5, 1715, to the Father General (see Puini, pp. 19–20), he speaks of the village of "Dias", which he says is "the first fortress or population of this Kingdom"; and in the report he alludes to a "fortress standing on a high hill". At Dras to-day there does exist a large fort in ruins; but it is situated beside the river, on the flat bottom of the valley, and not on a slope, and it is a Dogra fortress built by Zorawar Singh, general to Gulab Singh, at the time of the Sikh war of conquest in Ladak and Baltistan (1834–40). William Moorcroft, who visited Dras in the first quarter of the nineteenth century, does not mention a fortress; he says, in fact, "The Nuna Khalum was at Dras when I arrived for the purpose of raising contributions towards the expense of building a fort" (Moorcroft and Trebeck, *Travels*, vol. ii, p. 42). Dras, to-day, is administratively part of Baltistan, but till the middle of last century it depended from Ladak.

Desideri is even less explicit about the itinerary from Dras to Leh; but in regard to the first stage of it we are helped by Freyre, who shows us clearly that the route taken was the ordinary route down the valley of the Dras (which Freyre calls Synde) as far as the confluence of the river with another "flowing from Ladak", which is evidently the Suru.

Probably the juhla bridge, described by Desideri a little further on, was stretched across the Dras near its confluence with the Suru, where a more solid one exists to-day. Neither Desideri nor Freyre give us anything to catch hold of in regard to the rest of the route as far as Leh across the two passes Namika La and Fotu La and up by the valley of the Indus. The long period of forty days taken for the journey, which to-day is done in only seventeen, was due no doubt to the fact that the convenient caravan route constructed later by Zorawar Singh for the passage and provisioning of the Sikh army did not exist in Desideri's time. Probably there was only a rough path crossing the mountain slopes very high over the bottom of the valleys.

[19] Puini (*Tibet*, p. 28) suggests Lamayuru, but it equally might have been Basgo, in the Indus valley, of greater political and military importance, where the remains of a royal castle and of a large fortress are still to be seen.

[20] Ngari is the region ordinarily designated as Western Tibet. It coincides with the modern province Hundes. Orazio della Penna divides it into three districts: Ngari Sankar to the west; Ngari Purang in the centre; and Ngari Tamo to the east, bordering on Tsang. Henry Strachey (p. 3) designates the region as "Nari" and divides it into three great provinces: (1) Mangyul, bordering on Nepal; (2) Nari Khorsum, which comprises Purang, in which Kangri is situated, with Lake Manasarowar and Mount Kailas, and Gar or Gartok, with Tashigong, Rudok, and Guge, crossed by the Sutlej; (3) Maryul, comprising Ladak and Baltistan. G. Tucci (in *Journ. Roy. As. Soc.*, April, 1933, p. 353; and in *Rin c'en bzaṅ po*, pp. 15–16) does not agree with H. Strachey. He asserts that Ngari is usually called Ngari Khorsum in Tibetan writings. It includes Purang, Guge (comprising Gartok, Toling, etc.), and Maryul. In the old inscriptions of Ladak, Maryul is the general name for the western-most portions of Ngari. Further on, however (pp. 84, 85), Desideri gives the name Ngnari Giongar to a mountain, and Tucci makes the hypothesis that Ngnari is a transcription of Garis ri (pron. Kanri), the usual Tibetan name of the Kailāsa.

The Ng-nari Giongar of Desideri is the district containing Lake Manasarowar and Mount Kailas, or the Purang of Henry Strachey. The best description of Ngari and Hundes and their inhabitants is by Ch. A. Sherring.

[21] The privileges accorded to the Mussulmans of Ladak were of recent origin, being the result of the intervention of an army sent by Shāh Jāhan to free Ladak from the Tibeto-Mongolian invasion towards 1646–7. As payment for the service the King of Ladak, Delegs Namgyal, was made to abjure Buddhism and become a Mussulman, and to send his wife and son to Kashmir as hostages. (Francke, *History*, p. 105 sq.)

[22] The royal palace of Leh is still standing and has been recently restored by the Government of Kashmir; but the Grand Lama's residence has disappeared. It can still be seen in the frontispiece illustration of vol. i of W. Moorcroft and G. Trebeck's *Travels*, situated a little below the royal palace. At the time of Desideri's visit, the King was Nyima Namgyal (the Nima Nimojal of Freyre), son of Delegs (see above), during whose reign (1680–1720) the first printing-press by wood-blocks was established in Ladak.

[23] Father Wessels (p. 215) brings forward very good arguments to show that it was unlikely that Desideri followed the direct road along the Indus from Leh to Tashigong; he suggests that the missionary travelled by Tankse and Shushal, reaching the Indus again at Thangra.

[24] Gartok is seventy miles from Tashigong, a distance it would be hard to cover in only two days. Father Wessels (p. 216) quotes from G. C. Rawling that Gartok consisted of two settlements, Gar Yarsa and Gar Gunsa, the latter being only thirty miles from Tashigong. According to G. Tucci (loc. cit.) Gartok is but a summer camp, while Gar Gunsa is the winter residence.

[25] Though again in this part of the itinerary there is a great scarcity of particulars in Desideri, and in Freyre no mention of it at all, there can be no doubt that this high mountain is the venerated Mount Kailas (22,028 feet), the mountain on whose slopes Padma Sambhava (the Urghien of Desideri) sojourned, and that the Lake Retoa is Lake Manasarowar. To reach the lake district, Desideri must have crossed the Jerko La, a pass of 16,200 feet. But "Toscioá" cannot be Tokchen, because the latter is situated beyond Lake Manasarowar, towards the East. Tucci suggests that it might be Dorchin, at the foot of Mount Kailas.

Desideri's observations on the origin of the Ganges are the reflections of the opinions current in his day. The scarcity of geographical details and the uncertainty of the names does not allow of hypotheses nor of a fruitful comparison with the observations of later explorers in the lake region. C. Wessels (p. 219) has made the few comparisons that are possible, and has discussed the observations of Sven Hedin on the subject. (*Transhimalaya*, vol. iii, p. 196.)

[26] Sven Hedin stayed several days in Saka dzong in June, 1907 (*Transhimalaya*, vol. ii, p. 50); Capt. G. C. Rawling, of the Gartok expedition of 1904–5, describes Saka as a "straggling village of about twenty-five mud-brick houses surrounded by marshy ground", adding, however, that it is "a place of considerable importance . . . the centre of a very large district" (*The Great Plateau*, etc., p. 221).

[27] According to Freyre, they arrived in Sakya on February 15. Here they left behind them the Tartar Princess, and proceeding alone reached Shigatse on February 29, and Lhasa in another twelve days. At this point Freyre differs from Desideri, who states in his narrative that they remained in Sakya from January 4 to January 28, to allow the Princess to recover from an illness, and that they then all proceeded together.

Neither Desideri nor Freyre speak of having passed Gyantse, which is situated on the ordinary route between Shigatse and Lhasa. Desideri, however, is more explicit later, in Book II (Chapter VI), where he mentions Gyantse, Sakya, and Shigatse as being situated on the road between the Great Desert and Lhasa.

[28] I have not been able to trace the Gaspar Antonio stones, or "Pietre Cordiali" in the history of pharmacology.

Brazilian Balsam was probably a mixture of various balsams, like the Peruvian, the Tolu balsam, etc.

The Balsam against apoplexy, also called Aromatic Balsam, was a

mixture of bees' wax, butter of nutmeg, Peruvian balsam, amber-oil, and clove and lavender-essence.

[29] Roman Teriaca; Theriac was a drug already in use in Imperial Rome, said to have been invented by Andromachus, physician to Nero, and to have contained fifty-seven ingredients. The formula prepared by Mithridates had fifty-four ingredients; later it became even more complex. After Paracelsus, opium was introduced into it and was probably responsible for its medicinal qualities and its prolonged success. (Benedicenti, *Malati, Medici e Farmacisti*, 2 vols., Milan, 1925.)

[30] For the manuscript books written by Desideri in Tibetan, see his Bibliography.

The religious Tibetan books, whether manuscript or printed, are formed of detached leaves, rectangular in shape, two feet or more in length, and six to seven inches in breadth, numbered, and placed one on the other between two wooden boards, the upper board being often carved in bas-relief with figures of divinities. They are generally wrapped in pieces of silk or damask and are held together by strings. At one end hangs a label on which is written the title of the book. The title is always given in Sanskrit as well as in Tibetan in the case of translations from the former language. The copying of the sacred books is done by monks, who are often very fine calligraphers. The most precious of these books are written in alternating longitudinal lines of gold, ink, and cinnabar, or in gold, silver, and red copper. In some cases they are adorned with miniatures on the sides or on the centre of the pages. The sheets are made of stout, thick paper, often black or blue in colour, obtained by glueing together several sheets of the thin paper.

The paper is manufactured from various textile plants—according to Hodgson from the inner layers of the bark of a Daphne (*Daphne cannabina*) growing in Bhutan and Nepal. See *Journal Asiatic Society*, Bengal, 1832, i, p. 8, where the method of manufacture is described. See also Markham (*J.R.G.S.*, vol. xlv, 1875, p. 302) and Bell, *Tibet*, p. 86. But according to Giorgi (p. 561), Turner (p. 522), and Kawaguchi (p. 465), it is made from the fibres of a root. Macdonald (p. 243) mentions paper factories in the larger cities; and says specifically that the coarse paper is made from the bark of the Daphne, while the finer kind is made from the roots of a poisonous plant found in the country. Giorgi informs us that the best paper is manufactured in Takpo; the more ordinary in Tsang. He also describes and illustrates (pp. 561–3) the *instrumenta literaria*; the pen made from a sharpened reed, the *graphiarium* or pen-case, and the ink-stand. The ink is China ink, moistened with pure water.

[31] This is the earliest mention by a European of the Lamaist Tibetan scriptures, which contain the two works, the Kahgyur and the Tangyur. (See also Book III, Chapter XII.) No one spoke

of them again till 1824, when Brian Houghton Hodgson, who had been Resident of the East India Company in Nepal since 1821, communicated his discovery of the Buddhist Canons in the Sanskrit language in the monasteries of Nepal. Later he received the Tibetan canonical books from the Dalai Lama of Lhasa, and sent copies of the Canons to the Asiatic Society of Bengal (1824–39), to the Royal Asiatic Society of London (1835), and to the Société Asiatique de Paris (1837). Alexander Csoma de Körös, who had acquired Tibetan during a long residence in Western Tibet, studied in Calcutta the material sent by Hodgson, and gave to the world the first general idea of the contents of the volumes; he is therefore regarded as the discoverer of the sacred books. The collections of Tibetan canonical books date from the ninth century, with additions made in the eleventh and twelfth centuries.

The sacred literature of Tibet had its foundation in the translations from the Sanskrit made when Buddhism was first introduced, especially during the reign of Sri-Kiong-teuzen and in the mass of works translated by Rin-c'en-bzaṅ-po and his school, which flourished in the tenth and eleventh centuries, fostered by the local dynasties. G. Tucci has compiled from original manuscript sources a list of the collaborators and pupils of Rin-c'en-bzaṅ-po, mostly from India and Kashmir, and an index of their works and translations.

The final edition of the two collections, the Kahgyur and the Tangyur, is said to have been prepared by Bu-ston (Pu-tön), the author of a *History of Buddhism*, 1323 (Bell, *Religion of Tibet*, p. 200), who flourished between the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. It has been recently translated by E. Obermiller (1933).

Desideri states that the Kahgyur has 115 volumes and the Tangyur an equal number. Elsewhere he speaks of the Kahgyur as having 120 volumes. He may have handled different editions of it. We know it in 100, 102, and 108 volumes (Ralston, Preface to Schiefner, *Tibetan Tales*, p. xxv). Sarat Chandra Das (p. 31) speaks of a copy in the Monastery in Manding, in Nepal, of 125 volumes. Sir Clements Markham, in his translation of Orazio della Penna's short account of Tibet (1730), makes him say that the books of Tibetan law number 800 large volumes, known as the Kahgyur, whereas in Orazio's text (Klaproth, p. 406) the number of volumes is given correctly as 108. All the authors, with the exception only of Sven Hedin, agree in giving 225 volumes to the Tangyur. Sven Hedin (*Transhimalaya*, vol. i, p. 412) mentions 235.

Certain treatises contained in the Kahgyur, which are supposed to contain the very essence of Buddhism, are often separately printed and deposited in small temples or private chapels that cannot afford the complete set. Such are Bum (One Hundred Thousand Verses), in twelve volumes; Shiti-gniti, in two volumes; and Gya-stonpa, another redaction from the same work in eight thousand verses (Tucci,

Journ. Roy. As. Soc., April, 1933, p. 354). This is the one shown in illustration (p. 102). This copy is written entirely in gold, the characters being a mixture of ancient and modern script. Each page is marked with two small circles, to show the places where the holes were situated in the original from which this copy was made, for the threading of the ribbons which tied the sheets. This book is now in the Vivian Gabriel Collection in the Museum of Gubbio.

At an unknown date, but certainly some centuries back, printing with stereotyped wooden blocks incised on both sides (xylography) was brought from China to Tibet. Most of the copies of the sacred books are in print. Nevertheless the monks continue to copy them by hand to acquire merit. The most important of the printing-presses to-day are the one at Nar-tang (six miles from Tashi-lhunpo, Shigatse, on the road to Sakya) described by Kawaguchi (p. 248), which prints an edition of the Kahgyur in 100 volumes, the edition in use at Lhasa; and the press at Gönch'en, the capital of the Kingdom of Derge, in Kham, which prints an edition of 108 volumes.

In spite of the works of Hodgson, Csoma de Körös, Burnouf, Foucaux, Barthélemy St. Hilaire, and of many others, all we possess to-day of the sacred books are translations of a few short treatises, and we know their contents only approximately. The Kahgyur contains 1,083 works, translated from the Sanskrit and the Chinese in the eighth, ninth, eleventh, and thirteenth centuries A.D. From Csoma came the first rough summary of their contents. They contain a complete exposition of the Buddhist doctrine, divided into six parts; with a further part dedicated to the Tantras. (See Waddell, *Lamaism*, p. 155.)

Of the Tangyur we know that it contains an exposition of a part of the Tantric doctrine; and also treatises on grammar, logic, rhetoric, medicine, astronomy, some hymns, and some purely literary and secular poems, some of them translated from Kalidasa, and some fables and fairy tales. (See Waddell, *Lamaism*, p. 159; Eliot, vol. iii, p. 372; Rockhill, *Life of Buddha*, p. 228.)

[32] Ton-pa-gni [Stong-pa-gnid], Tibetan for the Sanskrit S'ūnya, or S'ūnyata, containing the doctrine of the non-existence of the concrete world, and teaching liberation from all illusion (Puini, Preface, p. xliii).

[33] Takpo-khier is an Eastern district of the province of Takpo, to the south-east of Lhasa, and south of the Tsangpo. Its climate is a good deal milder than that of Lhasa. It has fruit trees in abundance, and Desideri tells us in chapter viii of Book II that it also has vines—a statement corroborated by Orazio della Penna (Klaproth, 2nd section, p. 275).

[34] Puini (Preface, p. xliii) gives the name of this book as *Lam-rim-chen-ba* or "The Great Method", attributed to Tsong-Khapa, the founder of the reformed Lamaist church.

Desideri alludes to it, in the anonymous manuscript 1384, of the *Fondo Gesuitico of the Biblioteca Vittorio Emanuele di Roma* (MS. 1384, No. 31. See Bibliography of Desideri). He describes it thus: "Lam-rim-ceá, which is a compendium (but a copious one), admirably clear, elegant, subtle, ingenious, methodical, and very exact, of everything that is contained in that sect." There are many other Lam-rim in Tibet.

[35] This chapter should be read with the help of Father Wessels' Introduction, in which the history of the mission of the Society of Jesus in Tibet is summed up in a more orderly fashion and with greater exactitude than in Desideri. Father Wessels has reconstructed the itineraries of the missionaries' journeys from the original documents in possession of the Society of Jesus, the very same presumably which served Desideri in the framing of this chapter. (See also Wessels, *Early Jesuit Travellers*, chaps. ii–vi, and Sir E. Maclagan, chap. xix.)

[36] Carlo Puini (Preface, pp. xlix–lvii) has summed up the various journeys of the Capuchin Fathers in Tibet. The first were the Fathers Giuseppe d'Ascoli and Francois de Tours, who left Patna on January 15, 1707, and arrived at Lhasa by way of Nepal in 1708. Father Francois departed again after five months, and died in Patna. A year later Father Domenico da Fano arrived in Lhasa and was soon left there alone through the departure of Giuseppe d'Ascoli who also died at Patna. In 1711 Father Giovanni da Fano arrived at Lhasa. After six months, together with Domenico, he abandoned the mission and Tibet (1712).

In 1713, Domenico da Fano started to return to Rome to ask for help from the Pope. In 1717 he was back in Lhasa with Father Francesco Orazio della Penna di Billi, while another Capuchin Father was at Takpo. (Desideri alludes also to Francesco Fossombrone and Giuseppe Felice da Morro di Jesi, who arrived at Takpo in October, 1721.)

After Desideri's departure, the Mission was entrusted to Father Francesco Orazio della Penna, with twelve Capuchin friars to help him. In 1733, when nine of them had died and the others "become useless through age", Father Francesco Orazio started from Lhasa to put before Rome the miserable state of the Mission. The Congregation of Propaganda granted him nine other Capuchins from the province of the Marches, among whom was Father Cassiano Beligatti di Macerata. They started for Lhasa in 1738, furnished with presents and briefs for the King and the Grand Lama. Arrived at Lhasa in 1741, they were favourably received. But the mission was fruitless, and in 1745 the Capuchins were expelled. Taking refuge in Lali Patan, in Nepal, they subsequently passed into India (1769). The designation "Mission of Tibet" remained attached to the houses of the Capuchin Fathers established in Patna and in Bettiah. It was the information given by the Capuchin Fathers, more especially by Francesco

Orazio della Penna, which supplied the Augustinian friar Giorgi with the material for his *Alphabetum Tibetanum* (Rome, 1762). The Tibetan characters were brought to Rome by Francesco Orazio, and in 1738 were cut by Antonio Fontarita. (See also Francesco Orazio della Penna, *Relazione del Principio e Stato presente della Missione del Gran Tibet*, Rome, 1742; and *Breve Notizia del Regno del Tibet*, published by Klaproth; and Father Cassiano Beligatti da Macerata's *Relazione*, published by A. Magnaghi.) In the *Sommario della Causa fra Gesuiti e Cappuccini* (see Bibliography of Desideri) is a long letter of Father Giuseppe d'Ascoli with an itinerary of the Capuchin Fathers from Moghul to Nepal.

In *Studia Picena*, vol. viii, 1932, Father Clemente da Terzorio has published a Report on Tibet by Father Domenico da Fano, a MS. dated 1713, only recently discovered in the Archives of *Propaganda Fide* in Rome. It contains a short description of Tibet, the city of Lhasa, the habits and customs of the inhabitants, dress, food, economics, social and political institutions. He mentions the marriage customs, but ignores poliandry. The most unsatisfactory is the account of the religious practices and doctrine. Indeed, the author admits that they cannot be interpreted correctly except by one who has mastered the language and has become able to read their books, and confesses that he had to rely on information "gathered by gestures, and stammering like children". There are the usual misinterpretations; of a belief in the Trinity, one of whose components has incarnated himself in man, the adoration of a woman, the mother of a Man-God, the cult of Saints, etc. He gives no hint of reincarnation, though he states that the Grand Lama is believed to have in him the "spirit of God". The Report of Francesco Orazio della Penna mentioned above is much more satisfactory.

NOTES TO BOOK THE SECOND

[1] Carlo Puini (*Tibet*, note 2, pp. 34–5) has reported and discussed the various hypotheses and theories that have been formulated round the name, the meaning, and the derivation of the word "Tibet". The first European to use it, in the form of *Thabet*, was Giovanni di Pian del Carpine (1247) in his *Historia Mongalorum* (edited by Giorgio Pullé, Florence, 1913). Both Rubruquis (in his *Itinerarium*) and Marco Polo have it as *Tebet*. The moderns spell it *Tibet*, though a few French and Germans have it "*Tubet*". It is no longer written *Thibet*, as it was by the ancients. All the writers, whether ancient or modern, agree with Desideri in saying that this name is unknown to the inhabitants themselves. According to Francesco della Penna the Tibetans called their country *Boot* or *Poot*, the word "Tibet" being a corruption of the Tartar *Thobot* or *Tangut Katzar*, which signifies "Country of dwellers in houses", in contradistinction to the Tartars, who dwelt in tents.

The word may have come from the Tartars to the Arabs, and been diffused in the West by the latter in the forms of *Tobbat*, *Tubbat*, *Tibbat*, etc. The most common designation in the country itself would seem to be *Bodyul*, which, however, according to some authorities, as, for instance, Henry Strachey (p. 1), applies only to Eastern and Central Tibet, and according to others (Rockhill, *Ethnology*, p. 669) only to Central and Western Tibet.

Among the Chinese the country of Tibet had different names in different epochs. The most common of these names were *Hsi-fan*, *Hsi-tsang*, and *T'u-fan*; later came *Wu-tsang*, that is, U-tsang (Puini, note 2, pp. 34–5). P. Pelliot (*T'oung-pao*, 1915, pp. 18–20) gives the official spelling of the name under the T'ang as "T'u-fan". Disagreeing with Laufer, he considers the Arabian variants *Tüpüt*, *Töput*, *Tu-pöt*, etc., to be derived from "T'u-fan". And he does not believe it to be related to the indigenous name of Bod, as does Grenard, for instance (p. 241).

The name "Barontola", used by the ancient writers, as for instance Oderico da Pordenone, Du Halde, etc., is used more often for Lhasa than for Tibet as a whole (see note 24).

[2] In the beginning of the eighteenth century Nepal was divided into three kingdoms—Bhatgaon, Katmandu, and Patan, under rulers from a common stock. Gurkha was a small principality to the West of Tibet proper. It lasted until 1768, when the Gurkhas definitely conquered the country and established their rule over the large majority of Newars, the real Nepalese. (S. Lévi, vol. i, p. 218, and vol. ii, p. 39 sq.)

[3] Haldibari and the district of Purnea were formerly subject to

Bhutan. Further on (p. 147), Desideri writes that, together with Nagrakata, they belonged to the Moghul Empire.

[4] Desideri's notions on the geographical boundaries of Tibet were necessarily very vague; D'Anville's Atlas of China (and Tibet), was only published in 1733. But 38° N. lat., as the southern boundary of Western Tibet, must be a clerical error for 30°, while the position of the boundary between Central Tibet and Nepal (28° N. lat.) is approximately correct. Also the latitude of Lhasa comes very near its actual position (29° 6′, as against 29° 39′ 16″). This is remarkable, if we consider that Capt. T. G. Montgomerie (second *Report of Pundit*—, p. 130) in 1868 wrote that previous to the first journey of Pundit Nain Singh (1865–6), "the position of Lhasa was only a matter of guesswork."

The curious statement of Desideri: "Here [in Lhasa] and the surrounding districts Thibet does not extend far to the North" is contradicted a few lines below by: "from Lhasá to Sciling, a journey of three months, Thibet stretches again far to the North." The latitude given for Sining (36° 26′ N.) is approximately correct; but the boundary with Bhutan is not nearly so far south as Desideri puts it (26°–25° N., as against 26° 45′ to 28°; the Southern extremity of Sikkim being just above 27°).

[5] Thi-song De-tsen, who ascended the throne about A.D. 750. He extended the conquests of his predecessor Song-tsen Gam-po in the Eastern districts as far as Changan, which was then the capital of China, and to the North-East provinces of India. During his reign Buddhism prospered and spread in Tibet under the impulse of Padma Sambhava of Udyana (see Book III).

[6] Both W. W. Rockhill (*Land of the Lamas*, App. VI, p. 355) and Puini (p. 40) quote the legend of the origin of the Tibetans from the book *Mani Kambum*, "The Hundred Thousand Precepts of the Mani." This version is a little more complicated than that of Desideri. The progenitors of the race were Dras-rin-mo, a sort of rock-ogress, and Hilumandju, King of the monkeys. It was only after various generations that the descendants developed human features. Chenrezi (Avalokitesvara) gave them seeds, and from Hilumandju they learnt agriculture and the elements of civilized life.

Yule (*Marco Polo*, vol. ii, p. 302, 3rd edition) says: "The Princes of Purbandar in the Peninsula of Gujarat claim descent from the monkey-god Hanuman; thence the name *Punchariah*, "tailards."

The legend of the origin of the Tibetans is still alive. Kawaguchi (p. 225) came across it with new particulars. Combe (*A Tibetan*, p. 38) gives a version which makes the progenitors of all living beings, human or animal, issue from Dras-rin-mo and from the monkey-Bodhisatva; Macdonald (p. 33) assigns to the Tibetans the honour of direct descent from Chenrezi, or Avalokiteśvara, who had changed himself into a monkey.

In the version of the legend recounted to Bell (*People of Tibet*, p. 9), the appearance of the first progenitors was preceded by a period in which the country was submerged, until the Buddha of that period cut an outlet for the Tsang-po in the Himalayan mountains, so that the country rose once more above the water. This tradition of a lacustrine period was also picked up by Turner in 1783 (p. 224), and is still alive among the Kashmiri relating to their table-land. It has a curious support from geology, whose data prove that in a relatively recent period a great part of Tibet was submerged (closed basins with pebbles and shells, etc.). But to attempt to link the Tibetan legend with the traditions of the Flood, as is done by Turner and Bell, is an idle speculation. Giorgi (p. 293) is even more precise. According to him the Tibetans give the date of the Flood as 2190 B.C., or, according to some great doctors of Lhasa, 1730 B.C.; they reckon 850 years from the Flood or the dispersion of the descendants of Noah to the appearance in Tibet of the first man, born of the monkey Prasinpo; and 147 years from the first man to the first King.

[7] This assimilation of the shape of Tibet to the figure of Prometheus Bound is curiously confirmed by Bell, who unearthed from a Tibetan chronicle that the Chinese wife of King Song-tsen Gam-po (seventh century) "discovered by astrology that Tibet was like a female demon lying on her back", and that in consequence of this discovery, in order to lessen the demon's power, monasteries were built on the parts of Tibet corresponding with her arms, hands, legs, and feet (*Tibet*, p. 23).

[8] The rigorous Tibetan climate, the violence of the weather, and the great extremes of temperature in the different seasons have been described by all travellers who have stayed for a sufficient time in Tibet. The descriptions of Sarat Chandra Das, Rockhill, Sven Hedin, and Kawaguchi may serve for all. Sandberg (*Tibet*, chap. iii) has given from the available material a general account of the Tibetan climate. Turner (p. 304) describes the effects of the extreme dryness of the climate, which obliges the inhabitants to cover the wooden parts of the buildings, the pillars, the carved capitals and doors, with cotton cloths to prevent them from cracking. In the report of Saunders (Turner, p. 403) are described some mahogany boxes and furniture that had withstood the Bengal climate for years, but which in Tibet had become warped with considerable fissures and rendered useless. Turner also describes (p. 354) the habit of flooding the lowlands with water in order that they shall be covered in winter with a sheet of ice to prevent the arable land being carried away by the wind as dust.

[9] A more extensive list of the crops is given in Chapter XVI, with the addition of mustard and cole-seed for the extraction of oil. Among the varieties of barley, the most common in the Western and Central Himalayan districts is the so-called huskless barley, *Hordeum nudum*

seu glabrum, which bursts the husk when ripe, appearing bare, like wheat.

[10] The attention of many travellers has been attracted by the subject of the gold mines. In Giorgi (p. 456) we have a precise list of the natural products of Tibet. See, too, Francesco Orazio della Penna (Klaproth, p. 275) and Turner (pp. 370 and 405). The goldfields of Thok Jalung and of Thok Daurapa are described by the Indian surveyor Nain Singh (Trotter, p. 102). In Thok Daurapa the gold is extracted from the rock, which is broken up into small bits. Numerous places in which gold is extracted along the chains of the Kuen Lun, which border Central Asia, are mentioned by Przewalsky, Littledale, and other explorers.

In Rockhill (*Land of the Lamas*, p. 209) we learn that it is forbidden to dig the soil for minerals; they may only be gathered from the surface. The reason for this prohibition is the belief that the metals would disappear if their roots were extracted. This statement is confirmed by Bell (*People of Tibet*, p. 110) and by Macdonald (p. 25).

[11] Francesco Orazio della Penna (Klaproth, p. 275) also mentions "square stones of three kinds, colour of iron, of silver, and of gold"; and Giorgi has "*lapides uti vocantur, quadrati, coloris alii ferrei, alii aurei et alii argentei*" (p. 456); neither of them mentions the medicinal properties attributed to them by Desideri.

[12] The salt is pure mineral rock salt; or else in the form of saline efflorescence of lakes or dried marshes. The "putoa" (according to Puini "spod-lto", condiment) is carbonate of calcium. For its use in clarifying tea, see Chapter XIV. Magnaghi (in Beligatti, note p. 35) is certainly wrong in saying that the salt referred to is nitrate of soda.

Another salt of importance in the economy of Tibet is borax, which is collected in the vicinity of the hot springs and on the borders of the lakes. The raw salt is sent to Europe under the name of "tincal", and pure borax and other boro-salts are extracted from it.

The salt lakes, and the deposits on the shores of the lakes and at the bottom of the dried lakes contain in addition chloride and sulphate of sodium, and also some nitrate of potash which is used in the making of gunpowder. For a list of the salt and fresh-water lakes see Sandberg (*Tibet*, chapter iv).

[13] Zodoaria, or curcuma. Beligatti (Magnaghi, ix, p. 39) notes that round Mount Langur (Thung Pass, between Kuti or Nilam and Tingri Dzong) there are eighteen species of zodoaria with differently shaped roots, which seems to bring Serapion and Desideri into agreement. It is a plant of the genus *Zingiberaceae*, with tuberous roots. The root of *Curcuma aromatica* and *Curcuma zedoaria* was once in use as a tonic. It has an aromatic smell, like camphor, and a pungent and bitter taste. The curcuma furnishes various commercial substances, known as zedoary, East India arrowroot, mango-ginger, turmeric, etc. The turmeric is used as an ingredient in curry powder,

as a chemical test for alcali (curcuma paper), a colouring substance, etc.

About the aconite, Waddell (*Lhasa*, p. 281) mentions the *aconitum ferox*, whose roots are collected in the valley of the Ralung river and exported to India. In the Lhasa expedition several horses, mules, and sheep were poisoned by it. The usual antidote is belladonna, or its alcaloid, atropine. Bell (*People of Tibet*, p. 23) writes: "On the grazing grounds of the Sikkim-Tibetan frontier aconite is a much dreaded scourge . . . Tibetan donkeys, mules, yaks, and sheep, and those from the lowlands of Sikkim, die not infrequently from eating aconite, as there is but little in Tibet, and none in lower Sikkim. But the home-bred flocks and herds know better than to touch it." He also describes the ingenious method adopted to teach the animals to avoid eating the plant.

Reopontico is the rhubarb derived from the *Rheum raponticum* and from the *Rheum palmatum*, which are also cultivated in Europe. A better rhubarb is the one that comes from the East, and is known as "Chinese rhubarb", and is the product of the *Rheum officinale Baill.*

[14] Serapion was an illustrious doctor of the Alexandrian school of Erasistratus (Greek-Byzantine epoch, third century B.C.), the so-called Empiricists. He was very successful in surgery and in the use of drugs. The treatises on simples of Avicenna and Serapion were still in vogue among the pharmaceutical treatises as late as 1542.

"Mattiolo" must be Piero Andrea Mattioli (1501–72), who was born at Siena and received his doctorate at Padua and practised as a physician in Rome, Trent, Prague, etc. He was a naturalist, wrote commentaries on Dioscorides and medical epistles, and also polemical, poetical, and geographical works and essays.

Avicenna was the celebrated Arabian philosopher Abu 'Alí al Husayn ibn 'Abdullah ibn Sīna, born near Bokhara in the tenth century, philosopher, mathematician, physician, man of letters, philologist, author of the *Canon* and the *Sanatio*. A great part of his life was spent in the service of various Persian Maecenases. He died in 1037, aged 58. Of his *Canon* there exists an Arabic edition (Rome, 1593); a Hebrew version (Naples, 1491), and thirty editions of the Latin version made by Gherardo of Cremona. From the twelfth to the seventeenth century his *Canon* was the guide of medical students in the universities of Europe. On the whole he expounds the doctrine of Galen, and through Galen the doctrine of Hippocrates, modified by the system of Aristotle. The *Sanatio* is an encyclopædic-philosophic treatise. His minor writings cover a wide field of subjects, including as they do theology, philology, astronomy, physics, music, and alchemy. (O. Cameron Gruner, *A Treatise on the Canon of Medicine of Avicenna*, London, 1930.)

[15] Compare this description of the musk-deer with the one in Marco Polo (*Yule*, 3rd edition, p. 275; and note, p. 279). Bogle

(*Markham*, p. 114) gives a good description of a musk-deer hunt. The animals were driven into a snare of nooses made of cord. In Bhutan they were killed with matchlocks and bows and arrows. According to Bogle only the male has the two small tusks and the bag of perfume. At the time of Turner (p. 201) the musk-deer could only be hunted by special permit, and the musk trade was a State monopoly.

[16] Desideri does not mention the wild ass, kyang or kulan (*Equus hermionus*) which wander in large herds on the Tibetan plateaux. Polo (*Yule*, 3rd edition, vol. i, p. 224) mentions them in Mongolia. F. Orazio della Penna (*Klaproth*, p. 276) adds hares, marmots, and goats to the wild fauna, and pigs to the domestic fauna. Beligatti (*Magnaghi*, ix, p. 112) also describes the kyang; as do all the travellers who followed him. According to Waddell (*Lhasa*, p. 355) a herd of half-tamed kyangs is kept in Lhasa, and specimens of them can be seen in the London Zoo. Captain Bower (*Diary*, pp. 287–91) gives a list of the larger wild fauna of Tibet, including antelope, gazelle, kyang, yak, wild sheep, goat (in Ladak), and wolf; and also of the much more varied fauna of Eastern Tibet, where bears, deer, various species of pheasants, etc., are to be found.

The mountain ox, or yak (*Poëphagus grunniens*), is described in detail by Marco Polo, and also the zho, the cross between the yak and the common cattle, to which Yule adds a long bibliographical note, with additions by Cordier (vol. i, p. 274). Sir Douglas Forsyth (*Report of a Mission to Yarkund in* 1873, Calcutta, 1875, p. 98) describes the sure instinct of the yak when crossing the glaciers—how it avoids instinctively the crevasses covered with snow. Sven Hedin (*J.R.G.S.*, vol. v, 1895, p. 154, and vol. vi, p. 350), with the help of yaks, arrived to the height of 21,000 feet on the Mustagh Ata.

Many details concerning the wild and domestic fauna, their uses, etc., are to be found in Turner (pp. 201–17, 302, 357) and also the use of sheep as pack animals. This trade is described in detail by Nain Singh (Trotter, pp. 88 and 105). Sandberg (*Tibet*, ch. xv and xvi) treats extensively of the fauna and flora of Tibet, enumerating various species and their distribution.

The rivers of Tibet seem to be well stocked with fish; but their capture is much restricted by regulations (Francesco Orazio della Penna, *Klaproth*, p. 276).

[17] This is a clear mention of the Tsang-po, which crosses Southern Tibet in the whole of its extension. It does not pass through Bhutan, but flows east of it, through the country of the Abors, to debouch in the plains of India as the Brahmaputra. That Desideri, alone of the men of his time, should have identified in no equivocal manner the Tsang-po with the Brahmaputra, is a notable fact. Turner, too, at the end of the eighteenth century, knew that the two rivers were the same: "the Berhampooter . . . penetrates the frontier mountains

that divide Tibet from Assam. In this latter region it receives a copious supply . . . before it rushes to the notice of Europeans below Rangamatti, on the borders of Bengal," etc. (p. 298).

These correct opinions at that early date are remarkable, especially when we remember the long controversy as to which of the large rivers flowing south of the Himalaya, the Brahmaputra or the Irawadi, was to be identified with the Tsangpo—a question which was only settled quite recently.

[18] The iron suspension bridge of Tse-tang existed as late as 1882, when Chandra Das crossed the river; but it had fallen into such bad condition that a ferry was used instead (*Sarat Chandra Das*, p. 228).

In regard to one of these chain bridges over the Tsangpo, Rockhill observes (ibid., note, p. 143): "this one was in all likelihood built by the Chinese in the eighteenth century. I am not aware that the Tibetans ever built this style of bridge," etc. The miraculous origin attributed by the Tibetans to these bridges, to which Desideri alludes, proves, on the contrary, that they were constructed long before his time. The legend persists even to-day. The bridge near the monastery Chaksam, at the confluence of the Kyi with the Tsangpo, described by Beligatti in 1741 (*Magnaghi*, ix, p. 241), and later by Waddell (*Lhasa*, p. 312), and which was also in course of time substituted by a ferry, was built, according to tradition, at the beginning of the fifteenth century by the Sage T'angtong, who was canonized. This Saint "had power over water", and, according to legend, was the builder of eight bridges. (See also Bell, *People of Tibet*, p. 45.)

[19] *Man* is the Indian spelling for the weight written *maund* in English. It is forty seers. The weight of the seer varies locally in different places; but the standard Government seer weight is about 2 lb.; and the maund is 80 lb.

[20] For details of the custom-duties, etc., see Beligatti (*Magnaghi*, ix, p. 39).

[21] The normal itinerary from Nilam to Lhasa passes by Tingri Dzong, Sakya, Shigatse, and Gyantse. Desideri inverts this order, taking as successive stages Gyantse, Sakya, and Shigatse. In his account of his return to India (Book IV), he writes: "The usual road from Lhasa to Kutti passes through the cities of Giegazze and Secchia." Instead of this he went from Lhasa to Gyantse, and from there, presumably, direct to Tingri Dzong and Kuti or Nilam, by the route which Father Cassiano Beligatti followed a few years later, namely, Tingri, Shekar Dzong, Gyantse (*Magnaghi*, ix, pp. 105–70). Beligatti speaks of three routes between Shekar Dzong and Lhasa; one towards the north (which according to Giorgi leads to Ngari); one towards Shigatse (north-east); and one bearing eastwards, by Gyantse, which he followed, taking nine days to arrive at Gyantse.

[22] Of the three important places, Sakya Jong (a stronghold, or

fortified place) and the cities of Shigatse and Gyantse, the first has been visited by few. It lies fifty miles N.N.E. of Mount Everest, and is the headquarters of the Sakya-pa, a sect founded by Saskya Paṇ-c'en. Eight of its pontiffs were supreme in Tibet for a century after 1270. Sarat Chandra Das visited it in December, 1882, and described its red-painted public and private buildings, its four temples and four married abbots with a supreme hierarch, all holding hereditary posts, giving particulars of the strange dynasty of prince-lamas (pp. 238–41).

Kawaguchi visited Sakya at the end of 1900, and described the monastery, where he found some five hundred monks. He was much shocked to discover that the spiritual instructor of the temple was married.

Shigatse, with the celebrated monastery of Tashi-Lhunpo, and Gyantse, both of which are situated on the main road to Lhasa from the west and from the south, have been visited by many travellers. Tashi-Lhunpo was founded in 1445 by Ge-dun-dup, an early disciple of the reformer Tsong-Khapa, who in 1439 had become the recognized head of the Gelukpa sect. It is the seat of the Panchen Rimpoches, or Tashi Lamas, of whom the second of the line, Lobsang Yishe (1663–1737), was reigning at the time of Desideri. Bogle visited Tashi-Lhunpo in 1774, Turner in 1783, Manning in 1810. Sarat Chandra Das was there on both of his journeys—on the first, in 1879–80, and again in 1881. On the former of these occasions he resided six months in the monastery of Tashi-Lhunpo (pp. 45 and 104), working industriously in the library and collecting manuscripts. For a full and detailed description of Tashi-Lhunpo, its inhabitants, and of the monumental mausoleums in which the Tashi Lamas are buried, etc., see Sven Hedin (*Transhimalaya*, vol. i, chap. xxiv sq.). The monastery when he visited it had three thousand eight hundred resident monks. The most recent description of Tashi-Lhunpo is the one given by Bell, who visited it in 1906 (*Tibet*, p. 85).

In regard to Gyantse itself it has become the trade-mart between India and Tibet, and is the headquarters of the officers and trade-agents of both countries. It is connected by telegraph with both Lhasa and India. Turner (p. 225) and Pundit Krishna confirm Desideri's statement that a woollen cloth highly prized in Tibet was manufactured at Gyantse. According to Grenard (p. 288) the weaving and selling of the wool is, or was, a State monopoly. For a detailed description of Gyantse and neighbourhood, see Waddell (*Lhasa*, chap. xi).

[23] A very complete description of the private chapels or chö-kang is to be found in Combe (p. 44).

[24] Lhasa was originally the name of the first Buddhist temple, constructed on the place where to-day rises the Capital. The old writers, such as Grueber, D'Orville, Francesco Orazio della Penna,

Kircher, Giorgi, Du Halde—spoke of the city as Barontola or Barontala. For this reason Puini (note, p. 54) in the place of the etymology put forward by Klaproth (p. 3) deriving "Lhasa" from a Tartar word meaning "right side", that is to say "south-west", suggests its derivation from the Mongolian word "Borham", meaning "God", or "Spirit". In this way "Barontola" would be the Mongolian translation of the word "Lhasa", meaning "The Land of God or of the Gods".

The only description of Lhasa prior to Desideri's, if we omit the short and doubtful account of Odorico da Pordenone (1328), is that of Grueber, who sojourned there a month in 1661 with D'Orville (Magalotti). But he dismisses it in a few words. A fuller account is given by Giorgi, from information received from the Capuchin Fathers contemporary with Desideri. Beligatti (Magnaghi) describes ceremonies and festivals, but not the city itself; Manning (Markham), in 1811, did not find in it anything remarkable or pleasing; and Huc (vol. ii, p. 250) insists on its dirt. Nain Singh (Montgomerie, Report 2, p. 166) stayed in it for three months in 1865–6, and passed through it again in 1874–5 (Trotter); Krishna or Kishen Singh (Walker, p. 67) dwelt in it a year in 1878; these two travellers have left concordant descriptions of it. The first person to draw a plan of the city was Nain Singh. For an excellent description of Lhasa see Sarat Chandra Das, who was there in 1870, and again in 1881 (p. 148). Kawaguchi, who made a long stay in it in 1901–2, describes it as a "metropolis of filth" (p. 407). In addition to the above accounts, we have the descriptions occasioned by Sir Francis Younghusband's expedition (1904), by Waddell, Landon, and Candler. Waddell (pp. 327 and 331) gives a map of the surroundings of Lhasa, and also a plan of the city itself. To conclude the list we mention the descriptions of Bell, who stayed in it eleven months in 1920–1, and of Macdonald, who visited it twice in the course of his long residence at Gyantse. Both Bell and Macdonald had opportunities of knowing and consorting with the nobility. Not everything in Lhasa is squalor and dirt. Bell's lively description of the houses in the city and in the surrounding country, of the feudal administration, the landed property, the receptions, the games and pastimes, the picnics in the gardens of the villas, the servants, the education of children, etc., reveals a refined society with civilized customs, though different from our own, a side of life which the other visitors to Lhasa do not even hint at. (Bell, *People of Tibet*, chapters vii–ix.)

In the last decade of the late Dalai Lama's life several other Europeans were allowed to enter Lhasa: Sir Henry Hayden and César Cosson, W. M. McGovern, Mme A. David Neel, Lieut.-Col. F. M. Bailey and Lieut.-Col. J. L. R. Weir, with Mrs. and Miss Weir. It is doubtful whether the same facilities will be granted pending the election and during the minority of the next Tibetan Pontiff.

[25] Desideri's description of Lhasa is the only one which mentions the royal palace of Tashi-khang, in the Cathedral Square. In Waddell's plan of the city there is marked a dancing hall, but on the southern side of the Square (*Lhasa*, p. 331). The place may possibly have been destroyed when Lhasa was sacked by the Oelöt Tartars (see below).

On the other hand, the cathedral or Jo-khang has attracted the attention of all the visitors to Lhasa, with the exception only of Kawaguchi, who does not even mention it. Their impressions are varied; compare, for instance, the lyrical description of Landon (vol. i, p. 301) with that of Waddell (*Lhasa*, p. 363). This latter has given a plan of it (p. 365). Another plan is the one of Giorgi, who describes the temple with method and precision. Bell found a large church bell suspended from the ceiling of a narrow passage leading to the shrine of Buddha, on which were incised the words: *Te Deum laudamus*. It is the only relic of the Roman Catholic Mission to be found in Lhasa (Sir C. Bell, *Religion of Tibet*, p. 153).

The Jo-khang was the first Buddhist temple of Tibet. It was founded in the seventh century, when the history of Tibet begins, by the king Sron-tsan Gam-po in order to place in it the golden image of Buddha that had been brought him by his wife, the Chinese princess, Wen-chang, of the Imperial House of T'ai Tsung (*circa* A.D. 640). Sandberg (*Tibet*, p. 178) describes another statue, which is even more remarkable—a representation of Chenrezi, attributed to Sron-tsan Gam-po. The temple was restored and reconstructed in the seventeenth century.

Waddell climbed to the roof of the temple, but does not mention the bells—a particular which has often been mentioned in other temples. Beligatti (*Magnaghi*, viii, p. 619) describes them with clappers ending in a plate of gilded copper in the shape of a heart, about four inches wide, which catches the wind. The bells round the roofs of the temples are a Buddhist tradition of great antiquity. In the *Dialogues of the Buddha* (Rhys Davids, Dialogue XVII, vol. ii, p. 214) the Master of Ananda speaks of the Palace of Righteousness as being "hung round with two networks of bells, one golden and one silver. The golden network had bells of silver, and the silver network had bells of gold".

The market was still held on the Cathedral Square as late as 1904, at the time of Younghusband's expedition.

[26] The word Ramo-che, according to Rockhill, means "a large enclosure" (note, p. 155 of Chandra Das' *Journey*). As Desideri says (Book I, p. 104), it is not a school or university, but a monastery in the northern quarter of Lhasa. Chandra Das describes the famous temple, said to have been erected by the Chinese Princess Konjo (Wen-chang), whose body is here enshrined. Of monks he found some half a dozen living in the upper storeys of the temple; but at the time of Desideri there was a monastery annexed to the temple. Waddell

(*Lhasa*, p. 375) and Candler (p. 340) both describe the temple as being in a dilapidated condition. Waddell, however, states that the temple of Ramo-che was built by Sron-tsan Gam-po to enshrine the images brought, not by his Chinese wife, but by his other wife, the Nepalese Princess Bhri-kuti (*Lamaism*, note, p. 23). The other Ramo-che, which is outside of the city wall, is dedicated to the Buddha or Sakya Muni.

Desideri does not mention the other minor monasteries of Lhasa: Chomo-ling, and Tengye-ling, situated in the town; or Kunde-ling and Tsecho-ling, situated on the outskirts. They only contain two hundred to two hundred and fifty monks each, but the Gyalpo or Regent during the minority of the Dalai Lama is generally chosen from the abbots of these monasteries (Sandberg, *Tibet*, pp. 111 and 180; Bell, *Religion*, p. 184). The Lamas of Tengye-ling are now dispersed, and the monastery is used as the Post and Telegraph Office of Lhasa (Macdonald, p. 254; Bell, loc. cit., pp. 162–4).

[27] The monastery Drepung, or Debung, five or six miles west of Lhasa, is called Bre Phung by Giorgi, according to whom it had five temples and five thousand monks; it now contains more than ten thousand (Bell, loc. cit., p. 102). It is the largest of the three monasteries, Drepung, Sera, and Galdan, of the reformed sect of Gelukpa, in the neighbourhood of Lhasa. All three of them are seats of seminaries, or universities, where monks receive their doctor's degree. Nain Singh (Montgomerie, *Report of a Route Survey*, p. 168), Gutzlaff (p. 214), Tsybikoff (p. 94), Landon (vol. ii, p. 265), give the number of the monks as from seven to eight thousand. The three monasteries were all of them founded during the life of Tsong Khapa. According to Sara Chandra Das (p. 171), Drepung was founded in 1474 (1418, according to Bell, loc. cit., p. 102) by Gedun Gyatso, the first of the Dalai Lamas; but Sandberg (p. 110) gives it as being founded in 1414 by Jam Yang Choi-je; and says that in 1530 the Panchen Lama, Gedun Gyatso, removed there from Tashi-Lhunpo, and built the central palace in which the Grand Lamas had their residence until the fifth Grand Lama, who built the Potala. Drepung is renowned for its oracles.

[28] The Potala is usually described as a castle, temple, and palace, as the Vatican of Lamaism. The name seems to be derived from Potaraka, a hill in the State of Malakuta, at Cape Comorin, where, according to legend, Avalokitesvara frequently betook himself. (See Puini, note, p. 56, and Waddell, *Lhasa*, p. 388.) E. Schlagintweit (*Könige von Tibet*, p. 49) refers us to the tradition which says that the king Sron-tsan Gam-po built a palace on the summit of the hill, which was then called Mar-po-ri (the Red Hill), in the seventh century. It was here that the Kings of Tibet resided until 1645, when the fifth Dalai Lama, Ngagwang Lobsang, built the Potala Palace and made it his residence.

In Kircher's *China* there is an illustration of the *Arcis Bietala in qua habitat magnus Lama*, from a drawing brought back by Grueber, which is reproduced in the *Geog. J.*, xviii, 1901, p. 605. Important additions were made to the Potala in the eighteenth century.

Among the modern descriptions, see Landon (vol. ii, pp. 184–91), Macdonald (p. 248), and Bell (loc. cit., p. 131).

[29] Sera monastery, which is situated two or three miles to the north-east of Lhasa, is the rival of Drepung, and renowned for its holy relics. It was founded in 1417 by a disciple of Tsong Khapa. According to the various authors the number of monks is about five thousand. A description worthy of notice is that of Kawaguchi, who speaks also of the colleges, the life of the students, etc. (pp. 423–8).

[30] Galdan or Ganden, twenty-five miles E.N.E. of Lhasa, is famous for containing the tomb of Tsong Khapa, who founded it in 1409 (described by Bell, *Religion*, p. 99). It is smaller than Drepung and Sera, and renowned for the piety of its inmates. It is considered the highest centre of learning in Tibet. According to Macdonald (p. 71) it contains about three hundred lamas, housed in twenty-six hostels. Its Abbot ranks as chief of the non-incarnated lamas.

[31] Samye, about thirty miles south-west of Lhasa, was the first monastery of Tibet. It was founded by Padma Sambhava, in the reign of Thi-son De-tsen (A.D. 740–786). Csoma de Körös has the date as 749, Sandberg as 770, and I. H. Schmidt as between 811 and 823. Nain Singh resided in it in 1874, and has left us a good description of it. The rich library had a number of Indian manuscripts, a great part of which were destroyed in a fire about 1810. In the ninth century it was partially destroyed by King Lang Dharma, the iconoclast; but after each disaster it was rebuilt or restored by public subscription. It housed the State Treasure of the Tibetan government. At the present day the Abbot is a lama of the Sakya sect; but the greater number of the monks still belong to the ancient sect of Nyin-ma.

[32] Yarlung was once the capital of this part of Tibet, till Sron-tsan Gam-po, who became king in A.D. 629, transferred the seat of his Court to Lhasa.

[33] Traganth gum, a resin which exudes from the stem of various species of *Astralagus*, especially *A. Gummifer*, in Greece, Syria, Asia Minor, and Persia. It is used in pharmacy as an excipient in pills, etc., and industrially for the dressing of fine textiles and as a thickener of dyes and a mordant in calico-printing.

[34] I have not been able to identify the province of Yee. There is not much place for it between Tse-tang and the large district of Takpo. F. Orazio della Penna (Klaproth, p. 192) and Giorgi (p. 422) give seven provinces to Takpo. At Takpo-Cini (or Cigni) was the house of the Capuchin Fathers.

[35] For *Reopontico*, see note 13. *Assenzio pontico*, or Roman, is

the *Artemisia pontica L.* of Eastern Europe and the Caucasus. The aromatic flower-stems are used as a bitter in drug and liquor recipes. It is less bitter than real absinth (*Artemisia absinthicum L.*).

Melilotus officinalis, of Central and Southern Europe, is a good fodder and was once of some use in medicine, the dried flowers being employed in the making of plasters, poultices, etc.

Spigonardo is the *Lavandula dentata L.*, growing in Spain, North Africa, Abyssinia, and Arabia. It is cultivated at home for perfumery. But the Eastern *spigonardo* is the *Nardostachys Jatamansi D.C.*, a *Valerianacea* of the Himalaya. The root is employed in perfumery, and was one of the ingredients of the costly unguents in use with the Romans and with Eastern nations.

In the Central Asian mountains there are various species of juniper: *Juniperus macropoda* Boiss; *recurva* Ham; *pseudo Sabina* Fitch, and others.

[36] Tseri or Tsari is the principal See of the cult of De-mchog (Saṃvara). This region is regarded as one of the favourite haunts of Mahâdeva, or of Siva himself. The Kha-ndro-má, or Kha-gro-má, are female genii of the air.

[37] It would seem, from Desideri, that the Tsangpo passed by Lhasa; whereas the Lhasa river is the Kyi-chu, an affluent of the Tsangpo. The confusion may have arisen through the Kyi being known in Lhasa as the Tsang-chu—"chu" being the Tibetan word for mere streams, and "po" for large rivers. Francesco Orazio della Penna says correctly that the Tsangpo flows at "three days' distance from Lhasa" (Klaproth, p. 187).

[38] Lhoba or "people of the South" stood for Bhutanese; but the people here intended are probably the Abors, who inhabit the district of the Dihang Bramaputra.

[39] Cardamom is the fruit of the *Elettaria cardamonum Mat.* of tropical Asia (*Zinziberaceæ*). Its oval, triangular three-celled capsulæ contain numerous small seeds of aromatic smell and spicy taste, which are used as condiments and aromas, sometimes as a stimulant and stomachic. The best known is the cardamom of Malabar.

Mirobolans are the fruits of various species of Indian trees of the genus *Myrobolanus* and *Emblica*. They are drupæ, rich in tannin, containing an oil seed, and are used in tannery, and also medically, as astringents.

[40] This and the three following chapters, in which Desideri describes so amply and dramatically the important events in the history of Tibet, of which he was an eye-witness, have but little need of explanation.

Giorgi (pp. 331–7) has given a succinct account of these events which he gathered from information given by the Capuchin Fathers who were at Lhasa in those years. And Francesco Orazio della Penna alludes to them briefly (Klaproth, pp. 280–7). Francesco Orazio's account stretches to the events which he witnessed with his own

eyes, namely the Tibetan rising of 1727, instigated by the Dalai Lama, the murder of King Telchin Bathur and of his ministers appointed by China, and the reconquest of the country in the following year by a Chinese army of forty thousand. The Dalai Lama was deported and imprisoned in Sze-chuen, while Lama Kisri Rimpoché was appointed spiritual leader in his place. The temporal power was entrusted to the new King, Mi-wang, who was no less kindly disposed to the missionaries than Chingiz Khan had been.

A Chinese *Description of Tibet*, written in 1792 (translated into Russian by Father H. Bitchurin and re-edited by Klaproth in French in 1831) refers to these events. It mentions (p. 242) the invasion of Tibet by a Tartar army commanded by Tsering dondub in 1714, the murder of the Tibetan King, Latzan Khan (Chingiz Khan), the imprisonment of his son Surdja, and the dispatch of two Chinese armies, etc.

Du Halde (vol. ii, pp. 385–8) has given a few extracts from the recollections of the French Jesuit Régis, who was in Sining in 1708, engaged with Father Jartoux in the surveying and mapping of Kan-su. Two Lamas trained in survey work were sent to Tibet in 1711, and escaped from Lhasa only a few days before it was captured by the Oelöt.

The King of Tibet, whom Desideri calls Cinghes Khang and Francesco Orazio della Penna Cinghir Kang, before becoming the ruler of Tibet, had the name of Latsan Khan (in Du Halde "Talai Khan"). He was a grandson of Gusri, or Gushi, or Guchi Khan, the ruling chief of the Tartars of Kokonor who were known as the Oelöt, from whom the Kalmuks descended. It was he who first conquered Tibet (about 1641) and established (in 1650), with the sanction of the Chinese Emperor, the supremacy of the Reformed or Yellow Cap Church over the Red Sect (Sakya line of rulers), and gave the title of Dalai Lama and absolute ruler of Tibet to Nga-wang Lob-sang Gyatso, known as the fifth Grand Lama, who rebuilt the Potala Palace and was Supreme Lama in 1661 when Grueber and D'Orville arrived in Lhasa. On p. 147 Desideri makes a mistake; it was under Guchi Khan (fifty years before Chingiz Khan) that Tsang, together with its capital Shigatse, was taken and united to the kingdom of U.

These events are connected with the struggle for predominance between the Tartar king and the Dalai Lama. In the original constitution of Tibet the civil jurisdiction was centred in the King, but the supreme authority was invested in the Head of the Church. So when Chingiz Khan desired to get rid of, and in fact did get rid of, the supremacy of the Dalai Lama, all the lamas of the Yellow sect (Gelugpa) rose in rebellion and appealed to Tse-wang Rabdan, the head of the Oelöt, as the fifth Dalai Lama Nga-wang had appealed to Guchi Khan before, against the regent of Tsang, of the Red or Sakya sect. Desideri explains this more explicitly in Book III (Ch. VI and XVIII),

where he also gives particulars of the reaction against the Red sect, which naturally was on the side of Chingiz Khan.

Modern authors, as, for instance, Waddell (*Lamaism*, p. 39), Eliot (vol. iii, p. 363), Bell (*Tibet*, p. 39), repeat with but few variants the history of this period, having evidently taken it from the familiar sources, Francesco della Penna and Giorgi. Waddell (*Lhasa*, App. V) makes the sack of Lhasa take place in 1710; but adds in a note; "This date is given in Tibetan history as A.D. 1717."

Boulger, in a special essay on this subject, quotes a new source; and with the customary ignorance of Desideri's narrative, says explicitly: "Is it not a little curious that our principal authority on the subject of the campaign in Tibet (of the Oelöt Chief, Tse-wang Rabdan) should be a Russian traveller, Unkovsky, who visited the capital of the Oelöt shortly after the event." The Report, in Russian, is in the library of the British Museum. Unkovsky's Report agrees perfectly with the account of Desideri, but it adds a few particulars on the Oelöt side. Rabdan commanded the army which went to Sining to capture the child-reincarnation of the Dalai Lama; an undertaking in which he failed. His brother or cousin, Cereng or Zereng Donduk (the Ze-ring-ton-drup of Desideri), with 6,000 men and several thousands of camels, invaded Tibet. He defeated the Tibetan army, led by Latsan Khan (the Talai Khan of Du Halde), said to be twenty thousand strong, and captured and sacked Lhasa.

As mentioned by Francesco Orazio della Penna and by all the historians who followed him, in 1727 (a few years after the events narrated by Desideri) yet another political convulsion broke out in Lhasa, caused by the Dalai Lama wanting to get free from the temporal sovereign, and China was forced to intervene with a new army and to re-establish a civil power, subject to Chinese sovereignty, side by side with the spiritual power.

[41] The Tisri, styled Sangye Gyamtso, temporal ruler of Tibet under the spiritual authority of the Dalai Lama.

[42] Lob-sang rin-chen Tsan-yang, sixth Dalai Lama—Tsan yang Gyamtso, according to D. Macdonald (p. 44).

[43] Nga-wang Ye-shi Gyam-tso, aged 25. D. Macdonald has Lhasang Kang (p. 45).

[44] According to Giorgi, born in Lithang, on the eastern border of Kham, in 1706.

[45] Tibet does not appear to have had any coinage of its own in the past. The current coins were Chinese silver pieces called "tanka" or "tamka", worth a little less than half an Indian rupee. They were divided into half or into three for the divisional money. There was also silver money coined in all of the three princedoms into which Nepal was divided before 1768, namely, Patan, Bhatgaon, and Katmandu. See Nain Singh, in Montgomerie, *Report* 2, p. 173; Bogle in Markham, p. 128; Turner, p. 372; Kawaguchi, p. 461. But in

addition to these the Indian rupee had a large circulation (Desgodins, p. 355; Gill, p. 88; Rockhill, *Land of the Lamas*, p. 208). Desgodins (p. 275) and Rockhill (p. 207) also mention a silver coin struck in Lhasa, without specifying when the mint was established. Bell (*Tibet*, p. 255) speaks of a mint "newly established at Lhasa" where paper money was printed, and also a gold mint (*People of Tibet*, p. 172). See also Grenard (p. 307), Waddell (*Lhasa*, p. 354). The best and most detailed description of the Tibetan coinage of to-day is given by Macdonald (p. 219).

[46] Lobsang Kalsang Gyatso, or Ngag-wang Ye-shi, seventh Dalai Lama.

[47] Francesco Orazio della Penna (p. 288) and Giorgi (p. 458) describe the administration of justice in much the same terms as Desideri. Bogle (Markham, p. 101) says that capital punishment did not exist in Tibet in his time. But Bogle was not in Lhasa. A good description of the administration and government in 1870 is contained in the report of Sarat Chandra Das (pp. 173 and 182), especially as to the share taken in it by Chinese officials at that time. For law and penalties see pp. 187–192. Capital punishment was only inflicted in cases of dacoity.

The barbarous penalties have persisted until to-day. In 1901, Kawaguchi (pp. 374 and 383) gave gruesome descriptions of the elaborate tortures. The death penalty was by drowning, with a particularly cruel procedure. He also describes the civil administration, entrusted to an equal number of lay and clerical officials, and the central and local governments, the system of land tenure, the taxation, the standing army of five thousand Tibetan soldiers, with a Chinese garrison of two thousand.

A detailed account of the Tibetan army, its officers, arms, drill, commissariat, pay, etc., is to be found in Waddell's *Lhasa* (p. 167 sq.).

The most recent accounts of the administration, the standing army, the criminal code, including the death penalty, mutilations, and tortures, are those of Macdonald (pp. 52 and 195) and of Bell (*Tibet*, see Index). According to Bell (p. 191) there is a council and a national assembly in which are represented the largest monasteries, the officials, the lay population, and the clergy. He also states that the death penalty has been abolished (p. 236). One half of the receipts of the State is expended for the religious establishments; and new taxes have been imposed on wool, tea, salt, and hides, for the maintenance of the crowd of monks, who are now exempt from military service.

[48] Most visitors of Tibet have noticed and described the Tibetan dress, particularly the elaborate attire of the women. (See especially Rockhill, *Ethnology*, p. 684 sq.) Sarat Chandra Das (p. 472) speaks of their use of false hair imported from China, and gives an interesting description of their social position and their character. Desideri does not mention the habit among the women of smearing their faces with

a black mixture of sallow and catechu, or with red earth mixed with belladonna juice. According to tradition it arose from an edict of a Dalai Lama (Demo Rimpoche), who hoped by this means to counteract the dissolute habits of the clergy (Huc, Hazlitt edition, vol. ii, p. 142; Rockhill, *Land of the Lamas*, p. 214). Bell, in a lengthy description of the customs of the common people and the nobles, and the ornaments worn by men and women, which vary with different classes and districts, gives as his opinion that the smearing of the face is only practised to protect the complexion against the extremes of the Tibetan climate (*People of Tibet*, p. 147). The Tibetan lady, Mrs. Louis King, is of the same opinion (Rin-chen Lha-mo, p. 131). But she is contradicted by the *Story of the Lake Dog*, which she herself reports, in which a beautiful girl's face is covered with soot, so that the chief's son may not notice her.

Earrings are worn by all classes; the men wearing only one in the left ear.

According to Macdonald (pp. 137 and 155) the Tibetan lady of to-day, in addition to a large wardrobe of gala dresses, has costumes for the house and for travelling, and uses toilet creams from India and rouge from France. When she goes on a journey she protects her face with cutch, a kind of red earth made into paste. Eyelashes and eyebrows are blackened with kohl. Tibetan ladies bathe frequently, at least in summer, and altogether have plenty of sumptuary habits.

[49] Mattresses are also stuffed with barley-straw (Bell, p. 63).

[50] For a description of the enormous number of beasts butchered in the autumn for the preparation of dried meat to last the year, see Kawaguchi (p. 233). In Bell (*People of Tibet*, p. 221) we read that the chief provision of meat is made from the sheep killed in October and dried in whole carcases, or else cut into strips and dried. The meat prepared in this way can be kept for five years. For particulars of the slaughtering, freezing, and drying, see Combe (p. 126).

The same custom was in use with the Dards. At the feast of Nos, at which the winter solstice was celebrated, animals were slaughtered for the provision of dried meat (Biddulph, *Tribes of the Hindoo-Koosh*, Calcutta, 1880, p. 100).

[51] The Tibetan recipe for making tea is described by Beligatti and by most of the subsequent travellers.

The use of tea in Tibet became universal in the thirteenth century, under King Phagma of the Sakya dynasty (Sarat Chandra Das, p. 159). It is now the chief commodity imported from China. E. Colborne Baber (p. 193 sq.) has described in detail its cultivation, its collection, how it is packed in bricks in the Western Chinese districts around Ya-chu and transported to Ta-kien-lu, where the bales covered with straw mats are rebound in hides and sent into Tibet. About two and a half millions of bricks, weighing ten million pounds, are yearly imported. (See also Desgodins, p. 347; Gill, p. 85; Grenard, p. 299).

Bell (*People of Tibet*, p. 121) enumerates the various kinds of Chinese tea used in Tibet, and the different ways of importation.

[52] The method of preparation of Tibetan beer or chang is described almost in the same words by Bell (*People of Tibet*, p. 241). For the ingenious device for distilling the fermented beer into arak spirit, see Combe (p. 133).

[53] High Lamas and dignitaries use the Chinese chopsticks.

[54] Modern philologists look on Tibetan as belonging to the group of Burmese Indo-Chinese languages (Rockhill, *Ethnology*, p. 670; Wolfenden, pp. 12–69). The Tibetan language has a very rich vocabulary, especially adapted for conveying shades of meaning. J. Bacot (*L'Ecriture Tibétaine*, p. 16) has counted no fewer than eleven ways for rendering the word " to say ", according as to who is the speaker and who is the person spoken to, and a variety of words to express the many shades between " command " and " beg ".

But the greatest difficulty of the language is certainly in the writing. According to the European scholars the Tibetan syllabic alphabet derives from the Sanskrit Devanagari characters, which were in current use in India in the seventh century. According to tradition, Thumi Sambhota, who was sent to India in A.D. 616 by King Sron-tsan Gam-po, brought back with him the alphabet from Kashmir (Rockhill, *Life of the Buddha*, p. 212, and *Ethnology*, p. 671). According to Dr. Francke (*Tibetan Alphabet*, p. 266) and Dr. Hoernle the alphabet invented by the Tibetan scholar Thumi Sambhota (or Tön-mi Sam-bo-ta) is founded on the Central Asian derivation of the Indian Gupta alphabet which was used in the Khotan district in the sixth and seventh centuries for the writing of the local Iranian dialect. Tucci, however, agrees with Laufer (*Journ. Amer. Orien. Soc.*, 1918, pp. 34–46) that the prototype of the Tibetan alphabet is to be found in India, and not in Khotan.

J. Bacot published a Tibetan grammar in sixty-five precepts, of the seventh century, with a commentary of the seventeenth. Giorgi, in the second part of his book (from p. 555), treats of the language, alphabet, pronunciation, characters, etc., in a fairly methodical and precise manner, though he makes the Tibetan language derive from the Hebrew. The first time Tibetan was printed in Europe was in Rome, by the Propaganda Fide Office, in types cast from the characters brought back by the Capuchin missionaries. (See note 36, Book I.)

Tibetan is written in two kinds of script: *Wu-chen*, " possessing head," which is employed in all printed books, and *Wu-Med*, " headless," the cursive (Uchen and Umin in Giorgi). Bell (*Religion of Tibet*, p. 208) has *U-me* for a semi-printed type of script, and *Kyuk* for the cursive writing. The best description of the cursive writing is by J. Bacot, who gives several variants of it (according to Csoma de Körös, three), describing the abbreviated or reduced words, the ornamental deformations of the letters, etc. For every syllable there is an average of fourteen to fifteen ways of transcription, and for

polysyllabic words the number is very great. Tibetan is perhaps the language in which the orthography is the most complicated; and, moreover, the writing does not tally with the pronunciation. But a phonetic system of writing would not be possible, as the pronunciation is different in the different provinces.

Tibetan bibliography is not limited to the voluminous canonical books. We have already seen (Book I, note 31) that the Tangyur, besides religious works, contains writings on various profane subjects, including works that are purely literary. There are also biographies, histories, short stories of Chinese origin, fairy tales and popular poems (Colborne Baber, p. 88; Francke, *Hochzeitslieder*); above all there are sacred dramas or mystery plays, performed by strolling companies of professional actors and actresses, based generally on the Jātakas, tales of Buddha's lives antecedent to his historical life. (A collection of these tales was translated and edited by H. T. Francis and E. J. Thomas. See also A. Barth, *Oeuvres*, vol. i, p. 300.) All the plays are written in the classical form with actors and choruses and are interspersed with comic scenes (Waddell, *Lamaism*, p. 539). J. Bacot, who translated a selection of the plays in his *Réprésentations Théatrales*, states (p. 18) that several mystery plays and dramas and also libertine poems are supposed to have been written by the sixth Dalai Lama, a lover of the arts and of beauty in all its forms. This presumably was the dissolute Dalai Lama who was put to death by order of Chinghiz Khan in 1706, though the name given to him by Bacot is not the same. Bell (*Religion of Tibet*, p. 138) gives the translation of one of his poems.

A special mention must be made of the historians. In the same book (p. 200 sq.) Bell gives details of the historical works of Pu-tön, or Bu-ston (*circa* 1290–1364), already mentioned in note 31, Book the First, and of Gö, the author of Tep-ter Ngön-po, "the Blue Treasury of Records," in fifteen volumes, containing a history of Buddhism in Tibet, brought down to almost 1476, date of the completion of the work. There is also mentioned a history ascribed to Ngag-wang Lob-sang, the fifth Dalai Lama (*circa* 1642), and various other original sources, including Mongolian and Bhutanese. To these must be added Taranatha, the author of a history of Tibetan Buddhism up to 1608, translated by Anton von Schiefner. There are also the popular poems (*The Book of the Hundred Thousand Songs*) by the wandering monk, Jetsum Mila Raspa (1038–1122), a poet and religious leader who was canonized. The importance of these songs was first recognized by Dr. Jäshke (*Zeit. d. Morävischen Gesellschaft*, vol. xxiii, pp. 543–8). See also B. Laufer, Rockhill (*Milaraspa*), Evans-Wentz (*Milarepa*), and Bell (loc. cit., ch. vii).

[55] Some of the medical notions of the Tibetans seem originally to have come from China. Du Halde (vol. ii, pp. 184–207) has translated a long Chinese treatise on the pulse, very elaborate, but without scientific foundation, followed by a medical *Herbarium* and

a vegetable *Pharmacopea*. But Tucci (" Review of Desideri ", *Journ. Roy. Asiat. Soc.*, April, 1933, p. 355) notes that the founder of Tibetan medicine and author of many reputed treatises is gYu-t'og-yon-tan-mgon-po, who had studied medicine in Nalanda. He also mentions a famous manual of medicine by sDe-srid Sańs-rgyas rgya-mts'o. Sarat Chandra Das (p. 257) says that the Tibetan doctors were famous, and that Tibetan medicinal herbs were despatched to Mongolia and other countries. A medical college existed till recently in the monastery of Chakpo-ri, on a hill to the S.W. of Lhasa. Kawaguchi (pp. 311 and 484) is less optimistic on this subject than Chandra Das and Desideri, and describes methods of nursing which sound very uncomfortable, with the sorcerer and the Lama more to the fore than the doctor. According to Macdonald (p. 179) every doctor in Tibet is a Lama, and the basis of every cure is the religious ceremonies, supplemented by concoctions and mixtures more or less akin to our herbal pharmacology.

[56] Many authors have mentioned the scourge of small-pox and the terror it inspires in the Tibetans. Turner (p. 219) found all the villages in an extensive zone abandoned on account of a small-pox epidemic. Rockhill (*Land of the Lamas*, note, p. 242) says that as early as 1794 hospitals were built for small-pox patients, but later fell into disuse.

The Tibetans used to know of and practise small-pox inoculation (Sarat Chandra Das, p. 257). The lymph, taken from an infected child and mixed with camphor, was inhaled through the nostril. According to Campbell (*Notes on Eastern Tibet*, quoted by Puini, note, p. 121) the inoculation was done either through the skin or by a cotton plug impregnated with virus inserted in the nostril. Probably the method was imported from China. Pundit A. K. Krishna (Walker, p. 74) says that the inoculation in Tibet was done by Chinese doctors. At present, the method of inoculation seems to have been lost. But vaccination is being gradually introduced by the British Trade Agencies, and the people are accepting it readily (Bell, *Tibet*, p. 267; Macdonald, p. 179).

The Tibetans seem to have fairly rational methods for treating hydrophobia, snake-bite poisoning, etc. (Sarat Chandra Das, p. 257). As regards venereal diseases, Saunders (in Turner, p. 407) reported that in Bhutan they knew the use of mercury in the treatment of syphilis, both by internal and external use.

[57] For a detailed description of the various ceremonies for exorcizing in illness, see Combe (p. 76 sq.).

[58] Sarat Chandra Das (p. 260) mentions in addition a kind of chess (see also Bogle, Markham, p. 35), and he speaks of another game played with the wheel or circle of life, on which dice are thrown and fall in the different cycles. The Lamas play at dice. The popular sports are wrestling, archery, polo, races on foot and on horseback. There

are also the great festivals, which are held on civil and religious anniversaries. For the dances of the common people see Bogle (in Markham, p. 92) and Sarat Chandra Das (p. 114).

[59] According to Macdonald (p. 163) smoking is now prohibited in Tibet; but the habit is still indulged in by all classes of people with the exception only of the monks. Diminutive water-pipes are used. Snuff is very popular, and the monks indulge in it frequently.

[60] *Til* is *Sesamum Indicum, sive Orientale.*

[61] Sarat Chandra Das (p. 214) has a charming description of the harvest. Having selected a day of good omen, the people gather together and prepare for work, which they accompany with the singing of hymns and the offering of firstfruits to the gods, such as bunches of barley, pease, and wheat.

[62] What Desideri says of the religious character and kindly habits of the Tibetans is corroborated by Grueber, Turner, and Huc. In the *Land of the Lamas* (p. 248) Rockhill describes the morning and evening prayers, the lighting of lamps before the altars, the burning of bundles of juniper in the little ovens made for the purpose on the roofs of their homes, the singing of hymns and of litanies by the women, and also by the men. Combe (p. 44 sq.) describes the various religious rites of the day in even greater detail.

[63] In regard to Desideri's expression " of the same bone ", Francke (*Antiquities*, pp. 47 and 48), speaking of the clan names in Spiti, observes that Lyall, in the *Gazetteer*, calls the clans " Ruspa ", which means " Bones ". He collected the names of six " ruspa " of Tibetan origin. Tucci, however (loc. cit., p. 355), observes that rus-pa " bones " is quite different from rus-pa = rgyud pa " lineage, family ". The individuality of the Tibetan is fixed by three names: his personal name, his house name, and his clan name. This last is the name of his pha-spun-ship (father-brothership). Persons of the same pha-spun cannot marry. Pha-spun is the corresponding word for the " ruspa " of Spiti.

The ceremony of baptism and the giving of a religious name is described by Combe (p. 60). But he does not speak of the house name, nor yet of the clan name.

The marriage restrictions depending on relationship have, of course, their counterparts in several other peoples. Among the Bantu tribe of the Kaonda a man may marry the daughter of his mother's brother, but not the daughter of his mother's sister, or of his father's brother (F. H. Melland, *In Witch-bound Africa, An Account of the Kaonda-tribe*). In *Some Tribal Origins, Laws and Customs of the Balkans*, Miss E. Durham states that in the Balkans, more especially in Albania and Montenegro, blood relationship on the father's side—" agnatic consanguinity "—is an obstacle to matrimony for centuries, but cousinship on the mother's side is not an obstacle.

[64] Doubtless the fraternal polyandry in Tibet is a survival from an

ancient custom. It is still to be found among various primitive populations of India—in the Himalayas, in Assam, among the Todas, and the Nairs in the Province of Madras and in Ceylon. In the Rigveda, the remarriage of a widow usually took the form of marriage with the deceased husband's younger brother, and there is some evidence that this was a survival of polyandry (Nripenda Kumar Dutt, *The Origin and Growth of Caste in India*, vol. i, London, 1931). Polyandry is also found among the Ankole of Uganda, and in certain tribes of Northern Rhodesia, etc. In pre-Mahomedan Arabia polygamy and polyandry existed together, but not in the fraternal form; the woman was the common property of the husband's friends and guests; and earlier still there was real polyandry and matriarchy (Leone Caetani, *Studi di Storia Orientale*, vol. i, p. 228).

Puini (pp. 137–149) has summarized the various descriptions of the Tibetan family system and discussed the theories brought forward to explain the persistence of this curious custom in a people so far advanced in so many respects, and which is sanctioned neither by religion nor the civil laws. We can accept the fact that Tibet's peculiar economic conditions have helped in its survival. Grenard (p. 257 sq.) conceives Tibetan polyandry as a form of absolute patriarchism, of the complete centralization of the family in the eldest son. He has interesting details, not found in other writers, on the conception of the family and on the position of the woman in Tibet.

There is a certain divergence in the description of the marriage rite by the various authors, due in part to the difference of customs in the different provinces. Rockhill (*Ethnology*, p. 725) says that the marriage by simulated capture persists only in Western Tibet, Sikkim and Bhutan, and not in Tibet proper, but Sandberg (*Tibet*, p. 151) states that among the nomad tribe of the Horpa in the North-East, where monogamy is the rule, the bride goes through a form of abduction or forcible capture. (See also Sarat Chandra Das, *Marriage Customs*.)

Kawaguchi (p. 105) mentions a few cases of sister-polygamy. He has many interesting details (pp. 351–73) in regard to the family in Tibet, and the ceremonies at birth, baptism, imposition of a name, the entry of the child into school, and a detailed description of the nuptial rites, with the exorcisms, banquets, etc. Though abduction has ceased, the bride is expected to appear reluctant and alarmed, and behave as if the gods had forsaken her and covered her with misfortune. The wife lives with the husband a month or a year, after which she returns to her family for a period. According to Kawaguchi, the younger brothers of the husband become the husbands of the bride with separate ceremonies. But there are cases of cohabitation without any ceremony at all. The description given by Sarat Chandra Das does not differ very much from Kawaguchi's except that he gives more particulars of the economical transactions (pp. 247–59).

Bell (*People of Tibet*, chaps. xvii–xix) reduces to a minimum the religious part in the typical marriage rites in Tibet and Sikkim. The rite of butter, which is only found in the ancient writers, as for instance, Francesco Orazio della Penna and Desideri, has been substituted by a turquoise rite, by which a servant of the bridegroom places the jewel on the bride's head, while he sticks an arrow-flag (datar) adorned with coloured streamers on her back, near the neck. According to Bell, monogamy, polyandry, and polygamy all exist together. The first is the most usual, the second is common among agriculturists, as also among the nomadic shepherds. Rockhill, on the contrary (*Land of the Lamas*, p. 211), has it that polyandry persists only in the agricultural districts. Macdonald (pp. 139 and 142) describes the nuptial rites in much the same terms as the others, adding, however, that if the husband has younger brothers the bride must marry them in turn, at intervals of about a year, with private ceremonies, the only person present being the new husband, not the brothers already married to her.

Rin-chen Lha-mo (p. 128) denies absolutely that polyandry exists to-day in Tibet. Her descriptions refer especially to the Eastern provinces (Kham). On the other hand, Combe (pp. 73 and 109) states that " polygamy is quite common in Kham ", while the nomads are monogamous.

In regard to marriage between son and stepmother, Marco Polo noted that among the Mongols a son could marry any of his father's widows, with the exception of his own mother (Yule, *Polo*, 3rd ed., vol. i, p. 253). Herodotus speaks of the same custom among the Scites (see Yule's note, p. 256). The custom exists also in Kokonor and in Eastern Tibet (Rockhill, *Land of the Lamas*, App. III, p. 335).

[65] As is well known, the ancient writers, such as William of Rubruck, Odorico da Pordenone, Marco Polo, Giovanni da Pian de' Carpini, repeated and spread the tradition that the Tibetans were anthropophagi, adding, however, the extenuating circumstance (Friar Odorico) that the anthropophagy was ritual necrophagy, practised through filial piety. It is possible that the custom of not burying the dead but giving them as food for dogs, birds, and beasts of prey, the large use of human bones in the magic rites, such as trumpets made of femurs, the small hand-drums made of children's skulls (damaru), the goblets formed of craniums (Rockhill, *On the Use of Skulls*), etc.— that all these things have contributed to keep alive the belief in anthropophagy, notwithstanding that the custom itself has died. A significant, even if symbolical, survival of human sacrifice and cannibalism in the ancient Bon religion is the " lin-ga ", a human-shaped puppet made of dough, that in the Mystery Play or Devil's Dance of the Feast of the New Year or of the first moon is dismembered and handed round among the actors to eat. This ceremony has been spoken of by everyone who has witnessed the play, from Cassiano

Beligatti to Waddell. A few traces of ritual necrophagy seem still to persist here and there (Rockhill, *Land of the Lamas*, p. 287 ; Combe, p. 95 ; Macdonald, p. 64).

Desideri was the first to interpret correctly the doctrinal fundament of the strange funerary customs in Tibet ; and his remarks are fully confirmed by Francesco Orazio della Penna. But Rockhill (*Land of the Lamas*, note, p. 16) suggests that the reason is to be sought in the Lamaist theory of the intermediate state between death and re-incarnation that is known as Bardo (see Book III, note 22), whose length depends on the time needed for the complete dissolution of the body, which here means its digestion by the birds, dogs, and fishes ; and of these the birds have the quickest digestion. Hopkins (p. 33) explains the Tibetan custom of giving the bodies of the dead to dogs for food by the belief among Tibetans that the dog has a connection with spirits and is the " guardian of the departing soul ". But the theory does not cover the giving of corpses to birds for food, which is considered even more meritorious, or to fishes. Whatever the truth of these suggestions, it is certain that the canonical interpretation and justification was posterior to the custom, which must date a great deal further back than the introduction of Buddhism. It was caused, certainly in part, by necessity—by the difficulty of burial in the rocky soil, outside of cultivatable areas and frozen to a considerable depth for a good part of the year, and also the impossibility of cremation on a large scale through the high price of wood and its great scarcity. In Sikkim and Bhutan, where trees are plentiful, cremation is in general use ; and the same in the valleys of Ladak, where every family has its own crematory-oven constructed especially for the purpose (De Filippi, p. 210), whereas on the high places devoid of vegetation, as, for instance, the monastery of Henle on the Rupshu plateau, the bodies are given to dogs, birds, and beasts of prey for food, as is done in Tibet (Roero, vol. i, pp. 207 and 310). It must be noted, however, that Hiuen Tsiang (edited by Beal, *Buddhist Records*, vol. i, p. 86), speaking of India in general in the seventh century, says that there were three forms of funerals in use : cremation, the throwing of the body into the deep waters of a river, and the leaving of it in a forest to be devoured by beasts. This, and also the episode of the Buddha, narrated in Jātaka Tales, that in one of his former births, previous to his historical existence, he cut off a bit of his own flesh to feed a starving beast (an episode of the Buddha which Desideri evidently knew), seem to indicate that the custom had already a basis in the doctrine of the early Buddhism. Waddell (*Lamaism*, p. 315) says that a Cho-ten in the neighbourhood of Katmandu is supposed to contain the bones of Buddha in the incarnation in which he gave his body as food for a tiger.

The importance attached to charity and piety towards every living being, which is the basis of the funerary rites of the Tibetans, endow

it with a character entirely different from the Parsee custom of giving their dead to be devoured by vultures—a custom of great antiquity, mentioned among the Persians as far back as Herodotus (Rawlinson, 2nd ed., vol. i, p. 264). The same may be said of the custom of abandoning or exposing the dead in the open, a custom practised by various people in different stages of civilization.

Desideri omits an important particular in the funerary rites which is mentioned by Father Francesco Orazio della Penna (Klaproth, p. 77); the Lama in attendance on the dead person pulls out a few hairs at the vertex of the head to allow an exit for the soul. Bell (*People of Tibet*, p. 286) expresses it thus: "His (the priest's) duty is—by his prayers—to cause a hole to form in the top of the deceased's skull, so that the latter's mind or consciousness may escape through it." This identification of the soul with a *flatus* which has need of an aperture through which to escape has been widely diffused from the remotest times. Virgil (*Aeneidos*, iv, 693 sqq.) recounts how Juno, in pity for Dido's lingering death, sends Iris to deliver her, who "*dextra crinem secat*" and the unfortunate Dido expires: . . . *omnis et una dilapsus calor atque in ventos vita recessit.* Synesius, the neo-platonic Bishop of Cyrene, who lived in the fourth century A.D., when speaking of some Arab soldiers who, faced by the danger of drowning at sea, had unsheathed their swords, preferring to die in the open rather than in the water, quotes the saying of Homer to the effect that the sea is the most grievous way of perishing, and explains it by the belief that the water prevents the soul issuing from the mouth (*The Letters of Synesius of Cyrene*, translated and edited by A. FitzGerald, Oxford, 1926, p. 84). We find this Greek tradition in many of the religious works of the Middle Ages; it is enough to recall the *Trionfo della Morte* in the Campo Santo of Pisa, in which the dead people's souls are shown as issuing from their mouths in miniature likenesses of themselves. (Compare Sir J. Frazer, *Golden Bough*, 3rd ed., vol. iii, p. 26 sq.)

Macdonald (p. 149) describes the complicated funerary rites with a number of details. See also Turner (p. 517), Sarat Chandra Das (p. 252), Waddell (*Lamaism*, p. 488), Sven Hedin (*Transhimalaya*, vol. i, pp. 327, 369 and 406, and vol. ii, p. 11), and Puini (chaps. iv and v). A description of the obsequies and embalming of the Grand Lamas is to be found in Kawaguchi (p. 393).

NOTES TO BOOK THE THIRD

[1] The doctrine of the repeated incarnations of a Buddha or Bodhisatva in the Grand Lamas was first instituted by Ngawang Lobsang, the fifth head of the reformed church of the Gelugpa, who was confirmed in the title of "Dalai" in the year 1640 by the Mongol prince Gushri Khan. The title had already been given to the third head of the Gelugpa in 1576 by Altan Khagan. (See note 40, Book II.)

Since the time of Ngagwang Lobsang there have been two Lamas of supreme rank in Tibet: the Dalai Lama, whose seat is the Potala and in whom is incarnate the Bôdhisatva Avalokiteśvara (Tib. Chenre-zi); and the Panchen Rimpoche or Tashi Lama, whose seat is the monastery of Tashi-Lhunpo at Shigatse, and in whom is incarnate Amitabha (Tib. O-pag-med), the Celestial Father of Chenrezi.

Desideri never alludes to the Grand Lama of Lhasa as the "Dalai" Lama, because Dalai (which means "Ocean") is not the Tibetan but the Mongolian name for the Pontiff. In Tibet the Grand Lama has various appellations, as for instance, Kyamgön Rimpoche or Gyalwa Rimpoche, meaning "Precious Protector" or "Precious Sovereign".

[2] For some very intimate and private concerns of his former life, which the reincarnated Dalai Lama is expected to reveal in order to prove his identity, see Emanoel Freyre in Appendix.

Later, after 1792, when China had expelled from Tibet the Nepalese invaders, and had definitely imposed her sovereignty on that country, she desired, very naturally, to influence the choice of the Dalai Lamas and the other principal incarnations, to prevent the office falling to a member of an influential family hostile to herself. So the system of a multiplicity of candidates was started. The names of the aspirants were placed in a "golden urn", from which was drawn the name of the new Grand Lama, his election being, as a rule, further subject to Chinese sanction. The whole, of course, was enveloped in a complicated religious and political ceremonial. For the formalities attendant on a new election, see Nain Singh (Montgomerie, *Report* 2, p. 169), Sarat Chandra Das (p. 160), Sven Hedin (election of the Panchen Rimpoche, *Transhimalaya*, vol. i, p. 327), Gutzlaff (p. 220), Coales (p. 243, the election of the Grand Lama of Chamdo).

Later, the choice of names from among which was to be drawn that of the new Grand Lama was deputed to the official oracles of Lhasa (Waddell, *Lamaism*, p. 245; and Kawaguchi, p. 419). Kawaguchi specifies that the reincarnation of the deceased Grand Lama takes place forty-nine days after death—that is to say, the

duration of Bardo or the intermediate state of the soul between death and re-birth (see below, note 22). He reproaches the wealthy families with corrupting the oracles; but Bell (*Tibet*, p. 50) points out that nearly all of the recent Dalai Lamas have been chosen from humble families.

For the methods employed in the elections of the last Dalai Lama and Tashi Lama, see Bell (*Tibet*, p. 50 sq.), Macdonald (p. 105). Both were proclaimed without competitors and, therefore, without the formality of the drawing. It is, therefore, to be presumed that if China fails to re-establish her lost sovereignty over Tibet the next elections will take place as in the time of Desideri.

The solemn ceremonial for the installation of the fourth Tashi Lama has been described by Turner (p. 424). Compare his account with that of Reuilly-Pallas of the installation of the Kutuktu of Urga, the Grand Lama of Mongolia (p. 56). The little book by Reuilly has many errors and incorrect statements in regard to Tibet.

[3] In note, p. 288, of Puini, we read that the first Dalai Lama (the one who was given the title by Altan Khagan in 1576) died at the age of eighty-four, that the second died at eighty-six, the third at forty-six, the fourth at twenty-eight, the fifth at sixty-five, the sixth at twenty-three, and the seventh (of Desideri's time) died at fifty.

Later the notion spread that a Grand Lama could never survive his coming of age (at eighteen), the age for taking the power into his own hands in the place of the Regent appointed by China, and, as a matter of fact, following the eighth Dalai Lama, who survived till the age of forty-seven, four Dalai Lamas in succession certainly did die before coming of age (see Waddell, *Lamaism*, p. 227 sq.). Thus it happened that most of the Europeans who were admitted to the presence of one or the other of the supreme Lamas found themselves confronted by children. Beligatti was received by a Tashi Lama of three, Turner (pp. 230–49) by one of eighteen months, Manning (Markham, p. 265) by a Dalai Lama of seven, and Nain Singh (Montgomerie, *Report* 2, p. 164) by a Dalai Lama of thirteen and by a Tashi Lama of eleven, and Huc was received by a Dalai Lama of nine. This system of safeguarding her sovereignty by killing the chiefs of subject peoples on their attaining manhood seems to have been practised very generally by China. Moorcroft ("Notice on Khotan", *J.R.G.S.*, vol. i, 1831, p. 239) tells how the chiefs of the Kalmuks were regularly poisoned on becoming adults. The last (thirteenth) Dalai Lama, Ngagwang Lobsang Thubten Gyatso, was born in 1876. In 1882 he was visited by Sarat Chandra Das; at the time of the British Expedition to Lhasa in 1903–4 he fled to Urga; and later, at the time of the Chinese military expedition to Lhasa in 1910, he took refuge in Darjeeling. (See the description of the secular and spiritual rule, as administered by him, in Bell, *Religion of Tibet*, chap. xv.) He died in 1933, aged 57. No successor has yet been proclaimed.

[4] Desideri's account of the New Year's ceremonies is incomplete. In Francesco Orazio della Penna there is no allusion to them. Cassiano Beligatti (Magnaghi, ix, pp. 171, 249 and 300) has a detailed description of the various ceremonies day by day, including the Mystery Play with the Devil's Dance, the solemn processions, the burning of the Turma or symbolical sacrifice, and the expulsion of the Lu-gong or scapegoat, on which had been laid the evils of the city (compare Robertson Smith, *Religion of the Semites*, London, 1914, p. 22, on the sacrifice of the victim on which were supposed to be concentrated the sins of the community). Giorgi's description (p. 461) is modelled on the account of Cassiano Beligatti, and probably his illustration of the procession is taken from the same source.

Accounts of the New Year's Mönlam have been given by Nain Singh (Montgomerie, *Report* 2, p. 170) and by Sarat Chandra Das (pp. 198 and 261), who also enumerates the various religious anniversaries observed in the Tibetan year. For a description of the Mönlam in Shigatse and in the monastery of Tashi Lhunpo see Sven Hedin (*Transhimalaya*, vol. i, pp. 301 and 341). Waddell (*Lamaism*, p. 501 sq.) also describes the Mönlam, and enumerates the feasts, which owing to the numerous additions to the original ones which were connected with the lunar phases, have now become so frequent and follow each other so closely that hardly a week passes without a religious ceremony; and hence has arisen the legend of a Tibetan Sabbath.

During the period of Mönlam the temporal government of Lhasa is assumed by the head of the Monastery of Drepung. According to Cassiano Beligatti (Magnaghi, ix, p. 302) the Dalai Lama at the beginning of the Mönlam leaves the Potala and takes up his residence in the Lha-brang Cathedral till the ceremonies are finished. See also Bell (*Tibet*, chap. xxvi) and Macdonald (ch. xvii and xviii). The different accounts vary as to the order of the different functions and ceremonies, and vary also as to details. Probably the order is not rigidly the same from year to year.

Much has been written of the Tibetan Mystery Play and the Devils' Dances, of which there exist varying versions with, however, a common basis. They are a series of scenes, with rich costumes, some of masked personages, representations of divinities, demons, animals, skeletons, a flour-whitened clown, etc. A good description of the costumes and the symbolical attributes is that of Gruenwedel (p. 174 sq.). Some of the scenes undoubtedly derive from the ancient rites of human sacrifice and cannibalism (see Note 65, Book II). All the actors are monks. It would be easy to draw comparisons between these and the Dyonisian rites, the Dances of Death of the late Middle Ages, etc.

There are descriptions of the Mystery Play as observed in Tibet, Bhutan, Sikkim, and Ladak. So great a number of elements have

contributed to its making, that even the Lamas no longer know its symbolical meaning. And the interpretations vary with the different authors; to analyse and discuss them here would take too long. It is certain that with the passage of the Bon religion to Lamaism and with the advent of the reformed Gelugpa sect, which was substituted for the Buddhism of Padma Sambhava, the meaning attributed to the representations must have changed entirely. (See Waddell, *Mystery Play*; Francke, *Antiquities* (p. 513 sq.); and Combe (pp. 179 sq. and 197).

[5] An interesting description of the journey of the third Tashi Lama from Tashi Lhunpo to Pekin in 1779, with great magnificence of pomp and ceremony, has been given us by Turner (*Appendix* III and IV). This Tashi Lama died of small-pox within a few days of his arrival. His body, laid in a precious coffin enclosed in a gold tabernacle, was transported on men's shoulders the whole distance from Pekin to Tashi Lhunpo, venerated and worshipped during the whole journey, which occupied seven months and eight days. These honours rendered to the Grand Lama did not prevent the report being spread that he had died of poison.

[6] E. W. Hopkins (p. 134) mentions the primitive belief that small parts of the body, and also the excrementa, were to be considered as souls, and certain powers were attributed to them, more especially to saliva. A complete treatise on scatology dealing with the use of excrements in religious rites, in witchcraft, and also as a curative means was written by Bourke. The Dalai Lama's pills are amulets and also medicine. Something similar was practised among Indian Sivaites and Vishnavites in regard to their saints and gurus. (Dubois, pp. 125 and 132.)

[7] There are two categories of incarnations: those of divine beings, such as the Bhôdisatvas, impersonated in the two Grand Lamas, and the Goddess Dolma (Tara), incarnated in Dorje Pamo, the Abbess of the monastery of Samding on the banks of Lake Yamdrok or Palti; and the incarnations of historical personages. Of these latter is Urgyen (Padma Sambhava), who according to Desideri is incarnate in the head of the Monastery of Takpo, and according to others (Waddell, Rockhill, Turner, etc.) is incarnate in the Abbot of the Monastery of Sakya; such, too, is the historian Taranatha who transmigrates into the Grand Lama of Mongolia.

All the chief monasteries in Lamaist countries have a reincarnate Lama-Abbot. Puini (note, p. 298) reckons that in Tibet, Mongolia, Koko-nor, Pekin, Ladak, Chamdo, and Szechuen there are a hundred and sixty minor incarnations. According to Rockhill (*Land of the Lamas*, p. 88) in Amdo, Koko-nor, and Tsaidam there are forty-eight incarnated lamas.

[8] The "Second Class" is that of the Red-capped Lamas, the old Nying-ma, and its successive derivations. Though the office

of Abbot in these monasteries is hereditary, the Abbots are incarnated Lamas equally with the others (see below, note 14).

[9] The hierarchical and monastic system of Lamaism would seem to have been definitely organized in the thirteenth century, when Kubilai Khan made the Sakya Lama pontiff of Lamaism. The hierarchy described by Desideri is that of the Gedun, the ecclesiastical body of the Reformed Gelugpa Sect founded by Tsong Khapa in the first years of the fifteenth century, and organized in its details by Ngawang Gyamtso, the fifth Dalai Lama, who was invested with the spiritual and temporal power by Gushri Khan in 1650.

As the monasteries frequently contain some thousands of monks, the rule and administration necessarily requires a more complicated personnel than we would gather from Desideri, who only mentions the Lama or Superior, and the Ge-kö, or provost marshal. In addition there are the master or instructor (Lobpon); the treasurer (Chagdzo); the steward (Nerpa); the chief celebrant or precentor (Umdse); the sacristan, the water- and tea-givers, etc. (Waddell, *Lamaism*, p. 188.)

The grades of the monks between probationer, novice, and fully-ordained monk (Ge-long), who may be also a Doctor of Divinity (Rab-jam-pa), are enumerated by the different writers, who vary somewhat as to order and names (see Puini, p. 301; Waddell, *Lamaism*, p. 173 sq.; Sven Hedin, *Transhimalaya*, vol. i, p. 351).

[10] According to Waddell (*Lamaism*, p. 170), in every family at least one of the sons is vowed to the church. In Tibet it is the first-born, in Sikkim and Ladak it is the second-born. Similarly, in the noble families of Sicily until the beginning of the nineteenth century the third son of a family was destined to the Church, and not infrequently all of the daughters; moreover, till 1812 the *fidei-commissum* was in force, by which only the eldest son of the family was permitted to marry.

The first dedication of the Tibetan child takes place when he is four or five; but not till his eighth year does he leave his family to enter the monastery as a pupil (Da-pa). He receives a new name, is tonsured, and begins his education. Twelve years at the least are required for him to become a Gelong. For details of initiation, education, etc., see Sandberg, *Tibet* (p. 122); Waddell, *Lamaism* (p. 170); Combe (p. 64).

[11] For a detailed description of the stuffs and shapes of the monastic robe and the different styles of the hats worn by the different sects, etc., see Waddell (*Lamaism*, p. 195). The ancient Buddhist Bhikshu was dressed in yellow, like certain Hindu Gurus. It is possible that Tsong Khapa intended to return to the traditional colour. But yellow would have been a colour too delicate for the rough habits and dirt of the Tibetan monks, so the red cloth of the old sects was retained for the gown, only the cap being yellow.

[12] The seemly conduct between monks and nuns is not always

so carefully safeguarded, especially among the monasteries of the Red Sect of the Nying-ma where cohabitation between the two sexes is not infrequent. Orazio della Penna observes: "The nuns of this Urkien (Urgyen) are the wives of the monks, who often have more than one of them." And Sarat Chandra Das speaks of a lamasery in Western Nepal where fifteen monks and seven nuns (ani) were living together; and of another at Yarlung where forty monks and as many nuns were living together promiscuously, their children being brought up in the profession of their parents (pp. 30 and 232). The incarnate goddess Dorje Pamo, Abbess of the monastery of Samding, ever since the time of Cassiano Beligatti, presided over a monastery of monks. Beligatti describes her as "a humpback and a monstrous interlacement of limbs", and adds that she is celibate, with vows of chastity; "nevertheless about five years before our arrival there had issued from her a little she-lama, which somewhat cooled the veneration felt for her". (Magnaghi, ix, pp. 179 and 181). Bell (*Tibet*, p. 165) found the Dorje Pamo presiding over a lamasery of fifty-nine monks, representative of all three sects.

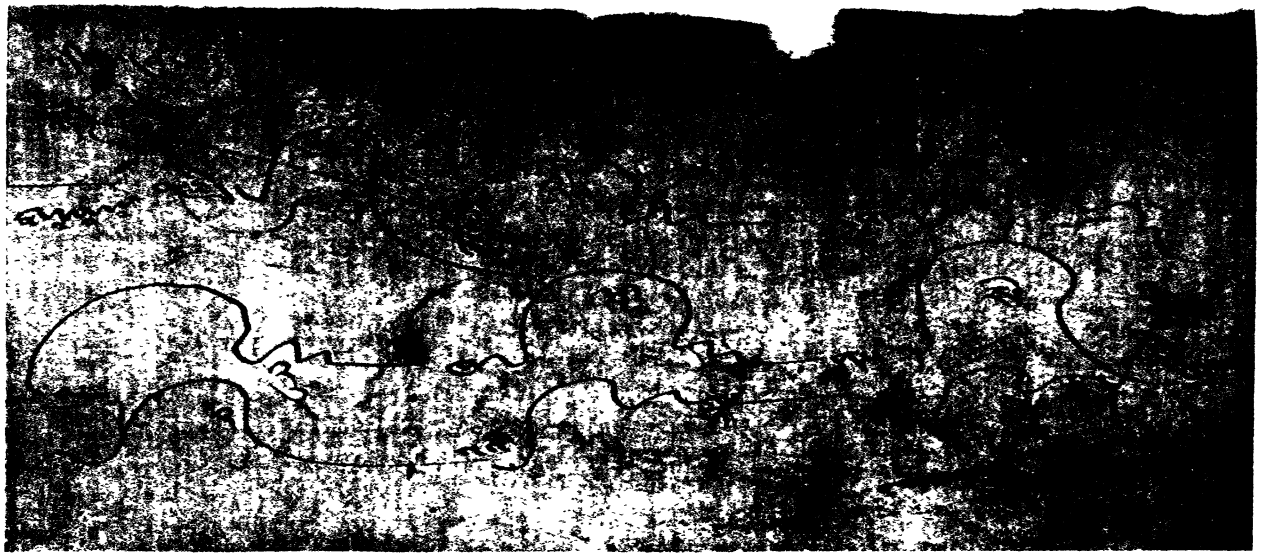
In the lamaseries of Ladak of the red sect Kadampa there are usually a certain number of nuns (chumo), who are employed as servants.

[13] Little need be added to Desideri's description of the life in the Tibetan monasteries. From Giorgi come a few realistic details bearing on the monks' sordidity. After observing that they had ceased to be strict vegetarians but partook of meat (it would be difficult in the highlands of Tibet to observe the strict vegetarianism compatible with the tropical heat of the Indian plains), he observes (p. 270) that in homage to the precept of not taking the life of any being, *nec cimices, nec pulices, nec pediculos interficiunt . . . sordidissimi ita sunt*; and following the precept of St. Epiphanius, *siquis laverit se in acqua animam suam frigore congelat . . .*; therefore *balnea devitant, nec unquam se lavant.*

For the daily routine, the ritual, and the religious ceremonies in the Gelugpa monasteries, and for the demonology and cult of Padma Sambhava by the Nying-ma, see Waddell (*Lamaism*, pp. 213 sq. and 220). Kawaguchi (pp. 291, 324, 345, 424) has lively descriptions of the life in the monasteries, and the attributions, disclipine, drills and duels of the Thab-to, who are the servants of the monastery, and at the same time are warrior-priests. He compares the character, proficiency and nature of the Mongol, Tibetan and Kham students who are educated in the monastic universities. For the discipline and penalties, the theological disputations, the routine of the life and the religious services, see Macdonald (p. 100 sq.).

A subject deserving of mention is Tibetan music. It has a very marked and not displeasing rhythm, generally in semi- or quarter-tones. Many authors have praised it, as for instance Enriquez (p. 185); Francke (*Musique au Tibet*); Sven Hedin (*Transhimalaya*,

PLATE XVII



TIBETAN MUSICAL VOCAL SCORE, FROM A YANG-YG; HYMN OR SONG BOOK

(De Filippi Collection)

[*face p.* 416

vol. i, p. 308). It is not unlike the Gregorian chant. It is probably the only case in the East of a music with a script, which is not dissimilar to the *neumes* that were in use before Guido da Arezzo invented the musical notation.

[14] The religious sects of Tibet correspond to the historical epochs in the development of Lamaism. Neither Desideri, nor yet Orazio della Penna, knew of the successive reforms. The most ancient sect was that of Nying-ma-pa (the old ones), which goes back to the Buddhism tainted with Sivaism and with Tantric and magical practices, introduced by Padma Sambhava or Urgyen (*circa* A.D. 750). It is also the one that has the greatest admixture of the remains of the primitive animistic Bon religion. (About the Bon, or Pön religion, see Bell, *Religion of Tibet*, chap. ii.)

The first reform was introduced by Atisha, a monk born in Bengal. Having preached in Nepal and in Guge (Francke, *Antiquities*, p. 50), he arrived in Tibet about 1039, and died some twenty years later near Lhasa, aged seventy-three. He founded the Kadam-pa sect and made reforms in the lax habits of the monkhood. Atisha and Mar-pa, who followed him, were responsible for the introduction of a good deal of the Tantric doctrines and practices in the Tibetan religion. His historical importance and his place in Buddhism were first made known by Sarat Chandra Das (*Indian Pandits*). (See also Bell, *Religion of Tibet*, pp. 62 and 70.)

The second reform was that of Tsong Khapa, who was born in 1358 in the province of Amdo, in Eastern Tibet, and died in 1419. His reform was even more radical than that of Atisha. He strengthened discipline, forbade the drinking of alcohol, made celibacy obligatory, and reduced the Tantric and magical practices. Tsong Khapa was the founder of the Yellow-Cap Sect, the Ge-lug-pa or the " Virtuous ", which from 1640 onwards became the official religion. He founded the monastery of Ganden, near Lhasa, to which were added, a little later, the monasteries of Sera, Drepung, and Tashi Lhunpo. Tsong Khapa was the author of the celebrated work, the *Lam-rin Chen-mo* (see note 34, Book I; also Sandberg, *Tibet*, p. 217). He is no less worshipped and venerated and has no fewer statues and shrines in the temples than Urgyen himself.

There are also a great number of intermediary sub-sects; according to Sandberg (*Tibet*, p. 105) there are eighteen of them.

The hermits and ascetics are also divided into several schools or classes. Some of them are students who live an ascetic life immersed in contemplation and in the reading of the sacred books. They are vowed to perpetual silence, and sometimes live in cells or caves with only a small opening through which the faithful provide them with food and with oil for their lamps (see Bogle, in Markham, pp. 228 and 232; Sven Hedin, *Transhimalaya*, vol. i, p. 363, and vol. ii, pp. 2 and 17; Waddell, *Lhasa*, p. 236 sq., etc.). The hermits, unlike the monks,

generally have beards, and also long hair, which they wear in small plaits, like the Gatilaka ("those who wear their hair in braids"), a religious sect that flourished in the time of Buddha. (See Rhys Davids, introduction to Dialogue viii, vol. i, p. 221).

There are also wandering Lamas or mendicant monks, who wander from place to place more especially during festivals (Hedin, *Trans-himalaya*, vol. i, p. 357). And there are others who profess magic and make money by it, and whose lives are anything but exemplary. Orazio della Penna remarks on the free use these magicians make of implements formed from human bones, such as trumpets, drums, cups and rosaries. Formerly the bones were taken from executed criminals. Cassiano Beligatti (Magnaghi, ix, p. 247) describes the rescue from the water of the corpse of a Nepalese, who had died at Kuti and had been thrown into the river, by some Tibetans, with the object of stealing the skull and turning it into a goblet.

[15] The exposition of the Lamaist religion given by Desideri in this and the following chapters is, on the whole, the exposition of the Mahayana school of Buddhism, reconstructed from the Tibetan canonical books. Naturally it is not carried out with the same order and logical method that we find in the syntheses of more than a century later, after the discovery of the Sanscrit texts of the Vinaya at Katmandu by B. H. Hodgson (1828–37). Later writers, such as Max Mueller, E. Schlagintweit, the two Rhys Davids, Rockhill, Barth, Gruenwedel, Koeppen, Waddell, McGovern, Oltramare, etc., have expounded in a systematic manner the four fundamental truths, the twelve-linked chain of causation, the eight precepts, the conception of the universal Buddha, the personification of the Law (Dharma), the divine hierarchy, and so on. On the subject of doctrine Giorgi is useless, for his exposition is biassed, being wholly directed to the finding of analogies and derivations from Manicheism. This theory, however, was revived and countenanced recently by Gruenwedel, who brings many arguments to its support in a series of works. Orazio della Penna gives a brief summary of the doctrine, which agrees in its general lines with that of Desideri, but is less detailed and more confused. I have already mentioned (note 36, Book the First) the many inaccuracies and misinterpretations in the Report of Father Domenico da Fano. The inner spirit of the religion was grasped much better by Desideri.

Among the modern writers the least satisfactory is Desgodins (p. 198 sq. and p. 208 sq.). His account of the introduction and development of Buddhism in Tibet is completely wrong in every particular, as is also his exposition of the dogmas. He asserts that the living Buddhas can transmigrate into the bodies of animals, and vice versa; he confuses the ultimate Nirvana and the absorption into Nirvana of the Buddha with the places of bliss of the Lha; he speaks of eternal hells from which there is no transmigration; and

he does not even allude to meditation as a means to attainment; and so on. Lamaism to this writer is nothing but a corrupt and heretical form of Christianity, *qui à plusieures époques fut assez fleurissant au Tibet* (p. 217). His whole exposition is biassed by intolerant and acrimonious judgments on the faith, the doctrine, and customs of the Tibetans.

[16] Desideri's account of the various forms of re-birth instituted by Lamaism to introduce the conception of Retribution of the pan-Indian doctrine of Metempsychosis and Karma, with Nirvana as the ultimate destination, is in perfect agreement with those of the various authors who have treated this subject. Bell (*People of Tibet*, p. 47) adds a particular—that the Yitas can leave their normal dwelling in the lowest of the six worlds and return to earth in the form of locusts.

[17] Dor-je-den is Bodh Gaya, the sacred place by the Tree of Wisdom where Gotama attained Buddhahood.

[18] Waddell (*Lamaism*, p. 77 sq.) has a full description of the Tibetan cosmology, which is closely akin to that of Primitive Buddhism. This, our human world, is only one of a series of worlds, which together form a universe among a multitude of universes. McGovern (*Cosmology*, p. 48 sq.) is more detailed even than Waddell. In the time of Hiouen Tsiang (seventh century) the Chinese cosmogony was very similar to that of Tibet: Mount Sumeru in the centre of the world, with the sun and moon revolving round it and encircled by seven sacred mountains and seven seas, four inhabited continents, four rivers born from the same lake: the Ganges, Indus, Oxus, and the Sitā, which perhaps is the Yarkand river. (Beal, Introduction by Chang Jueh to Hiouen Tsiang's book, vol. i, p. 10.) Compare the four Rivers of Paradise of Medieval conception: the Geon, Phison, Tigris and Euphrates, flowing towards the four cardinal points. See also in Yule (*Cathay*, vol. iii, p. 198) and in Sherring (p. 44) comparisons between the terrestial Paradise, the cycle of Brahma and the Buddhist cosmogony.

On Mount Rirab is the tree Bagsamshing, with its roots in the country of the Lamayins and its branches in that of the Lha. The Lamayins and Lha are incessantly struggling for the possession of the wish-granting fruits of the tree Bagsamshing (Combe, p. 40).

[19] Cosmas of Alexandria, merchant and traveller, became a monk about A.D. 548, and wrote his *Topographia Christiana* in a monastery of Sinai. He confuted the heretical doctrine of the roundness of the earth, and endeavoured to work out a scheme of the visible world from the Jewish and Christian Scriptures (see R. Beazley, *The Dawn of Modern Geography*, vol. i, p. 190).

[20] The Brahmans and the Jains have also imagined a large number of Hells and Heavens. Desideri's description of the torments in the various Hells has a certain monotony, though the Buddhist imagination was evidently more fertile on this subject than that shown in the

medieval representations of the Christian Hell. P. Gendronneau points to some analogies between the two. Desideri is less ingenious in describing the thirty-two places of delight of the Lha and the Paradise of the Saints of Sangye.

[21] Waddell (*Lamaism*, p. 121) observes that the simile of the stifled flame is found also in Heraclitus.

[22] Orazio della Penna also gives seven days to the state of Bardo, the period between death and re-birth. But the souls of the lustful can remain for a long series of years without bodies, tormenting the mortals. The other authors give forty-nine days to Bardo; and so does the *Bardo Thödol* or *Book of the Dead* (Evans-Wentz), which is recited over the dead man's body to guide his spirit in the difficulties and dangers of the state of Bardo (see also Combe, p. 83).

[23] Jam-yang, one of the forms of Bôdhisatva Jam-pal, or Manjuśri, the personification of Transcendent Wisdom, who was incarnate in the reformer Tsong Khapa and was also the inspiration of the Sakya-pa sect. But according to some writers Tsong Khapa was an incarnation of Amitabha (O-pag-med).

[24] Desideri's sketch of the life of the Buddha is, for the most part, in keeping with tradition, though lacking in various particulars regarding the manner in which the Buddha attained to enlightenment. See Rockhill and Foucaux's lives of the Buddha, as expounded in the Kahgyur and the Tangyur, which agree, on the whole, with the lives reconstructed by Sénart, Oldenberg, Rhys Davids, Herold, Kern and Thomas from the scattered biographical notices in the Vinaya and the Sutta Pitakas.

[25] Urgyen or Padma Sambhava is generally regarded as the founder of Lamaism (A.D. 747), notwithstanding that the first germs of Buddhism were sown in Tibet nearly a century earlier by King Song-tsen Gam-po. Waddell (*Lamaism*, p. 479) relates the legend or Urgyen from four different Tibetan sources. But even his account, full as it is, is not so diffuse and detailed as Desideri's. (See also Gruenwedel, *Mythologie*, pp. 49–56). Urgyen is also credited with the adoption of the cult of Avalokiteśvara (Chen-re-zi) as protector and guardian of the Tibetan religion. In reality, the mention of Chen-re-zi was introduced into the literature dealing with Padma Sambhava later, by the school of the Gelugpas (Tucci, *J.R.A.S.*, April, 1933, p. 356).

The etymology of the word "Urgyen" given by Desideri has no foundation whatsoever. Puini (p. 246) interprets it as a derivation from Udyâna, the name of the native country of Padma Sambhava, the Wu-chang of the Chinese pilgrim Fa-hsien, which stretched to the North of Peshawar, crossed by the river Swat. Tucci gives a more likely derivation of Urgyen from Uṭṭiyāna, the original name of the Svāt and of a number of mystical schools (loc. cit., pp. 356–7).

G. Roerich mentions the book Padma Than-yig, which contains the legendary life of Padma Sambhava: the finding of him on a lotus flower on the lake Vimalaprabha, his marriage, his flight from the palace, his ascetic life in a cemetery, his miracles, etc. The second part of the book deals with his life in the "Land of Snows". The *Padma Than-yig* was translated by E. Schlagintweit, and in parts by G. Ch. Toussaint. According to Waddell (*Lamaism*, note, p. 32) the Tibetan chronicles state that Urgyen remained in Tibet fifty years, not the hundred and eleven years reported by Desideri. He announced his approaching departure for other lands in a speech to the king in A.D. 802.

[26] I have not found any mention by other writers of this sending of Tibetans to India as a preliminary to the coming of Padma Sambhava to Tibet. Desideri has probably credited King Thi-song De-tsen with the initiative due to his predecessor Song-tsen Gam-po, in the introduction of Buddhism into Tibet. Between A.D. 630 and 650 this Tibetan king despatched to India his minister Thu-mi Sambhota with a suite of sixteen persons. Sambhota on returning to Tibet is supposed to have brought back with him the alphabet and the first Buddhist books, which led to the institution of a clergy and the building of the first monasteries.

The episode of the barbarities discovered by the Queen probably arose from the remains of the primitive religion of Bon-po which was addicted to human sacrifices. Rockhill (*Land of the Lamas*, p. 68) describes the treasure-house in the monastery of Kumbum in Eastern Tibet. On the panels of the gates opening into the yard are painted human skins, with hands, feet and heads hanging to them, and dripping with blood. On the walls of the yard are depicted the guardian deities with their usual trappings of serpents, human skins, bones and skulls plastered with blood, surrounded by flames and also by creatures with heads of bulls, pigs, dogs and eagles.

[27] For the monastery of Samye, see Book II, note 31. For the Canonical Scriptures, which were not collected till long after the time of Urgyen, see Book I, note 31.

[28] In regard to Tibetan prophecies another may be mentioned, found by Waddell in an ancient manuscript almanac (*Lhasa*, p. 1): that of the invasion of Tibet and Lhasa by the Indian army in 1903–4. It is true that the official astrologer or Nachung of that year failed to foresee the same events much nearer to himself.

[29] None of the writers speak of a violent end in connection with Thi-song De-tsen. Having succeeded to the throne at an early age, he continued the series of successful wars initiated by his father, Song-tsen Gam-po. Under his rule Tibet touched the apogee of her power, with lands that stretched from Turkestan to China, having subdued Assam, Kashgar and Nepal, and also Western China, including the Chinese capital Changan.

Giorgi states that the King was seventy-four when he died. Bell (*Religion of Tibet*, p. 41) gives him sixty-eight years of life. According to the Tibetan chronicles he died in 698, but the Chinese annals, which are more reliable, put the date as 650 (S. Lévi, vol. ii, p. 148). In the chronological tables of Csoma de Körös' *Tibetan Grammar* (p. 183) it is given as 786, more than a century later (quoted by Rockhill, *Life of the Buddha*, p. 222).

Among the successors of Thi-song there were two who died a violent death : King Ralpachan, at the end of the ninth century, and Lang Darma, at the beginning of the tenth. But the circumstances related by Desideri would lead us to suspect that he had erroneously incorporated into the history of Urgyen the particulars attending the death of Ngag-wang Lob-sang, the fifth Dalai Lama, who was invested with the spiritual and temporal sovereignty by Gushri Khan and whose death in 1680 was concealed by his minister De-si, according to Waddell (*Lamaism*, p. 40) and also Giorgi (p. 328), for twelve years; and according to other writers for six, or nine (Bell, loc. cit., p. 135). His successor was the dissolute Dalai Lama, whose death (in 1705) is referred to by Desideri.

[30] An account of Tibetan and Kashmiri necromancers at the court of Kublai is in Marco Polo (Yule, *Polo*, vol. i, p. 301); and Giorgi has left us a lengthy description of the oracles and sorcerers of Tibet (p. 242). Both E. Schlagintweit (*Buddhisme au Tibet*, p. 189 sq.) and Waddell (*Lhasa*, p. 380; *Lamaism*, pp. 187 and 450) have described their doctrines and rites, and their methods of divination, which is practised for every circumstance of life.

The principal schools of magic are the monasteries of Ramoche, Moru, and Karmasar; the graduates are known as Nagrampa. The official Oracle of State, who is called " Nachung ", is lodged in a house close to the monastery of Drepung.

Kawaguchi (p. 272) speaks of some small temples on the mountains near Tashi Lhunpo, to which are attached certain monks called Ngak-pa, whose function is to prevent or stop the hail by hurling missiles at the clouds and by shouting exorcisms and tearing their garments. These missiles are made of hardened mud, and are about the size of a pigeon's egg. Towards June, when the crops are advanced, the priest takes up his residence in the temple. His income is provided by a hail-prevention tax, which is levied in kind, but if the harvest is destroyed he is punished by a fine. Waddell (*Lamaism*, p. 499) describes the ritual for provoking rain.

Magic and witchcraft have been common to all peoples and all religions. In ancient Hellas, side by side with the clear Olympic cults, there existed the more ancient and darker " Chthonic " ritual. And in the Europe of the Middle Ages and Renaissance, belief in witchcraft and Christianity flourished together. Even a Sovereign wrote

on this subject (see King James the First, *Daemonology*, 1597; edited by G. B. Harrison, London, 1924).

[31] The list of beings who are the object of the cult described by Desideri is not complete and is not systematic. The Tibetan pantheon, derived as it is from the pantheistic cult of Yoga, with the addition of the Sivaite mysticism and the polydemoniacal doctrine of Vajrayana, is perhaps the most numerous in the world, and is further complicated by the polymorphism of divine representations. It comprises the three categories of divine Buddhas: Adhi, Dhyani, and Manushi. In the last of these categories Champa (Maitreya), the future incarnation of the Buddha, is especially venerated. Many believe that he will arise in the West. He is generally represented by colossal statues, seated in European fashion on a chair or throne. There follow the Yidam, tutelary manifestations of the Dhyani Buddhas, and the Sakti, female energies, the consorts of the Bôdhisats. In addition to these there are a number of lesser divinities and demons (see Sandberg, *Tibet*; Waddell, *Lamaism*, pp. 327 and 342; and especially the works on iconography by Gruenwedel and Alice Getty).

The terrible or tutelary gods seem analogous to the Babylonian sculptures of winged lions and other monsters of Nimrud and Khorsabad, or to the K'rûbhîm (Cherubim) of the Old Testament, who stood at the gates to disperse all evil.

It is true, as Desideri observes, that the Lha are frequently the objects of local cults. Nevertheless local cults are less common in Tibet than in India, where every district and practically every village has its own pantheon. Lamaism is a theocracy much more strongly centralized and rigid than Hinduism. Some of the Lha have their exact counterpart in the Roman *Numina*, particular manifestations of *Mana*; such as *Spiniensis*, who provided the *Mana* necessary to get thorn-bushes out of the fields; *Stercutius*, the god of manure; *Robigus*, the spirit of wheat-rust; *Tertiana* and *Quartana*, the spirits of fever, etc. (see H. G. Rose, *Primitive Culture in Italy*; London, 1926).

[32] For the ritual of the religious ceremonies and the apparatus that belongs to them and the offerings, etc., see Sandberg (*Tibet*, p. 226) and Waddell (*Lamaism*, p. 296 sq.).

The dorje, shaped like a double small sceptre, typifying the thunderbolt of Indra, and the drilbu or small tinkling bell are hardly ever out of the hands of the officiating priest during religious ceremonies.

Western counterparts of the Lhakhang or private chapels are the Russian shrines for ikons, with an ever-burning lamp in front of the sacred images encased in gold and silver—shrines that are (or were) part of every home in Russia, whether the house be a palace or a peasant's hut.

[33] The Cho-ten or Cho-rten, "receptacles for offerings," are derived from the Stupa or Chaitya of Indian Buddhism. They

were originally built to contain a relic of the Buddha, but have taken a wider significance as religious monuments in a general sense. Waddell (*Lamaism*, pp. 26 and 263), Enriquez (p. 166), describe the symbolism attached to every detail of the architecture. Many of these chortens have still the original significance of reliquaries, and contain the ashes of some saintly Lama. The ashes are mixed with clay and are formed into medallions (Ts'a Ts'a) decorated with figures in relief and the Buddhist lucky-signs or are formed like miniature chortens, etc. The chortens can be of all sizes, from those in metal a few inches in height, that are placed among the lamps and offerings in front of the shrines, to the large buildings in masonry, variously ornamented. Sarat Chandra Das (p. 88) describes a monumental chorten at Gyantse, over a hundred feet in height and with nine storeys. It is topped by a gilt dome and is built inside like a real temple with niches filled with the images of Buddhas and Saints, etc. G. Tucci has written an important essay founded on Chinese, Sanscrit, and Tibetan sources, and with many illustrations, on the subject of the Cho-tens (mC'od rten) and the Ts'a Ts'a, including an interpretation of the iconography of the latter.

[84] The Mani walls are occasionally several hundred yards in length, with the appearance of long and massive stone dykes stretched along the path or across the country. They are often associated with chortens built at both their ends, or at their centre.

In regard to the universal custom of keeping a religious monument to the right while circumambulating or passing it (with the exception of the Bon-po who keep it to the left), Waddell observes (*Lamaism*, p. 287) that the Romans also had the practice of circumambulating their temples, keeping them to their right, while the Druids had the contrary practice. The Gaels in the Highlands of Scotland used to "make the deazil" or walk thrice in the direction of the sun's course round the people to whom they wished well; the contrary or unlucky way was known by the lowland Scotch as "withershins" or "widdersinnis". The seven circuits of the thouaf, round the Kâaba in Mecca, are made by the Mussulman pilgrims with the left shoulder towards the Black Stone.

W. Simpson (p. 75) has interesting comparisons in this field between the Islamic, Hindu, Hebrew, and Christian rituals.

Circumambulations, either in walking or in measuring the ground with one's body by successive prostrations, are made round any object or natural feature that is held to be sacred, as for instance Mount Kailas, various lakes, the city of Lhasa, the monastery of Tashi Lhunpo, etc. All travellers have described them, from Cassiano Beligatti to Sven Hedin.

The keeping of a sacred object to the right is certainly pre-Buddhist. Simpson (p. 75) observes that the passing of sacred persons or objects in such a way that the right hand is kept towards them is a Manu law (Brahmanical). In Rhys Davids' *Dialogues of the Buddha*

(vol. i, p. 289; vol. ii, pp. 90, 91, and 102) we repeatedly read of disciples or worshippers that they "passed the exalted One with their right hand towards him". And after all, is it not usual to place a person on our right hand when we wish to show him respect?

[35] In regard to the praying-wheel (Mani-korlo), the wheel and the circular movements associated with religious practice, W. Simpson has written a whole book on the subject. Desideri omits an important particular, namely, that the revolving cylinder contains a long strip of paper or ribbon, or layers of sheets wound tightly round the axle, upon which are written *ad infinitum* either the magic formula "Om mani peme hum" or some other mantra. The idea is that, when the wheel is set in motion from left to right, the written mantras are automatically repeated, which secures the same merit as if the person had repeated them verbally the same number of times.

In addition to the portable prayer-wheels and the ones inserted in a niche in a wall or mounted in rows under a protecting roof, which are turned by hand, there are others kept in perpetual motion by water or by the wind, by ingenious devices. This form of worship is peculiar to Tibet, though occasionally it is found in China and Japan, where writers have described gigantic wheels containing entire libraries or even altars.

The Tibetan rosary has a hundred and eight beads; not a hundred, as Desideri states. For a description of rosaries see Waddell's *Lamaism* (p. 202 sq.).

[36] Koeppen (*Lamaische Hierarchie*, p. 59) brings home to us very clearly how universal in Tibet is the custom of this religious invocation. The first syllables lisped by the child, and the last syllables pronounced in the hour of death are those of the formula: Om mani peme (or padme) hum. Simpson (p. 34) observes that this invocation was probably imported to Tibet from India. Except for *mani* (jewel) and *padme* (the lotus flower), the syllables are meaningless. They are magic syllables, like many of the letters and syllables occurring in other mantras (Eliot, vol. ii, p. 185). We find the mystical syllable "Om" magnified into a symbol of Brahma in the Kathaka Upanishad (2nd section; 600 B.C.). Similarly, a mystic significance or power was attributed to the letters of the Arabic alphabet and also to numbers, letters, and words in the Kabbala.

The formula is an invocation to Chen-re-zi or Avalokita, and was first mentioned by William of Rubruck, in 1254. E. J. Thomas has suggested that it may have begun as an invocation to Padmapani, the Sakti of Avalokita, who had the title of Manipadma. Giorgi (p. 520) gives the translation of a letter of the Rab-jam-pa Nga-Wang to Francesco Orazio della Penna, interpreting the mantra, but it throws no light on its meaning. Giorgi has also given a list of the objects and concepts included under the word "mani" in Tibet (pp. 508–23).

In Rockhill's *Land of the Lamas* (p. 326) there is a translation of

a Tibetan work called *Mani Kambum* or *Hundred Thousand Precepts of the Mani*, which relates the legendary origin of the mantra. This work is attributed to Song-tsen Gam-po in the seventh century, but seems rather to belong to the fifteenth century. It also contains the legend of Avalokiteśvara.

In the symbolical interpretations of the mantra, its power to deliver from undesirable transmigrations is generally introduced, as Desideri states.

[37] The great resemblance between the Lamaist ritual and many of the Tibetan religious practices and those of Roman Catholicism were noticed by missionaries and travellers long before Desideri (see de Rubruck, 1253; A. de Andrade, 1625–6; Grueber, 1660). In 1598 Father Hieronimo Xavier wrote as follows: *Mihi quoque dum in Caximire agebam, nunciatum est esse in regno Rebat (Tibet) multos Christianos et ecclesias cum sacerdotibus et episcopis.* Francesco Orazio della Penna was no less struck by the resemblance than Desideri. So Abel Rémusat was justified when he said: "the early missionaries were satisfied with considering Lamaism as a sort of degenerate Christianity and as a remnant of those Syrian sects which had once penetrated to those remote parts of Asia." This presumed connection between Buddhism and Christianity has been summed up and discussed by Sven Hedin in his *Transhimalaya* (vol. iii, p. 313).

The points of resemblance between the Buddhist and Christian ceremonials made a great impression on Huc, and he pointed them out so naively in his book that he brought down on it the censure of the Vatican (Max Mueller, vol. i, note, p. 189). He reported the tradition that Tsong Khapa (who is supposed to have introduced the Lamaist ritual) had conversed with a priest "with a prominent nose", who had come from the West, and from this he drew the conclusion that Tsong Khapa had been influenced by the Catholic ritual and ceremonial. It is quite possible that this may have happened. By the seventh century the Nestorians had spread far into Asia, as we know from the inscription in Si-ngan-fu, which was then the capital town of Tangut and the See of its Metropolite. By the thirteenth century more than seventy-five Nestorian dioceses had been established in Asia (C. E. Bonin, p. 584 sq.; P. Pelliot; Yule, *Cathay*, vol. iii, p. 22; Landsdell, vol. ii, p. 119; A. C. Moule). Therefore, there may easily have been intercourse between Nestorians and the Lamaist communities on the Eastern border of Tibet, and adoption of the Nestorian ritual by the latter.

Enriquez (p. 187) goes so far as to suggest that the Nestorians may possibly have adopted and introduced into Europe the customs of the Buddhists they had met in Asia! Other writers have gone even further in turning the question upside down, and have searched in Buddhism for the origins and derivations of Christianity; a whole book has been written on this subject by Lillie. But the same parallels have

been looked for between Mithraism and Christianity (R. W. Fraser, p. 204). The various forms of triads in the different religions, analogous to the Buddhist triad, have been collected by Hopkins (p. 295); for instance the Egyptian triad of Osiris, Isis and Horus, the various triads of the Zoroastrians, the Romans, the Scandinavians, etc. The author objects to these triads being defined as "trinities". He notes (p. 308) that the Brahmanic and Buddhist triads are posterior to Christianity, and he finds no connection between them. Eliot (vol. iii, p. 421 sq.) acknowledges a similarity between the legendary traditions of the two, but finds that their fundamental significance is entirely different.

In regard to Tibet a clear distinction has not always been made between ritual and doctrine. The latter has roots much further back; even a superficial analysis will show that there is no analogy between the Christian and Lamaist doctrines; their fundaments cannot possibly be reconciled or even connected.

Sandberg (*Tibet*, p. 97) also lays great stress on Tsong Khapa's institutions; yet hierarchy and monasticism were well established and developed three centuries earlier, in the time of Atisha.

Not so very long ago ethnologists were in the habit of interpreting every similarity of custom, belief or rite as a proof of contact, or derivation, or of migration of races. A reaction has now set in and people have grown more cautious in drawing conclusions.

[38] Miss C. A. Foley (later Mrs. Rhys Davids) communicated to the Royal Asiatic Society (*Journ. R. Asiatic Society*, 1894, p. 389) a passage of the *Divyavadāna* with an exact description of the Wheel of Life. It reads as follows: "Buddha instructed Ananda to make a wheel with five spokes, between which were to be depicted the hells, animals, pretas (Yidas), gods (Lhas), and men. In the middle a dove, a serpent, and a hog were to symbolize lust, hatred, and ignorance. All around the tyre was to go the twelve-fold circle of causation," etc. It is the Wheel of Life, as depicted in Tibet, where it is usually represented as held between the claws of Shinje Cho Gyal, King of the Dead, one of the forms of Chen-re-zi. Giorgi has a picture of a wheel painted in the monastery of Samye.

Waddell (*Lamaism*, p. 105, and *Buddha's Secret*); Simpson (p. 40); Eliot (vol. i, p. 212); McGovern (p. 153); Combe (p. 8); and Macdonald (pp. 10 and 84) have all of them described the Wheel of Life or Wheel of the Law and interpreted its symbols.

NOTES TO BOOK THE FOURTH

[1] See note 21, Book II.

[2] Desideri does not say at what distance from Lhasa his " mountain called Langur " was situated. But there can hardly be a doubt that he is speaking of the Thung La, a Himalayan pass between Tingri Dzong and Kuti (Nilam), whose height was determined in 1871–2 by the Pandit Hari Ram as 18,460 feet (Montgomerie, *Journey to Shigatse*, p. 335). It is necessary to specify, because Grueber and D'Orville, who followed that same route in leaving Tibet in 1661, crossed a pass which they called Langur La, which was situated at a distance of four days' march from Lhasa, and a month's journey from Kuti. It must have been on one of the mountain ranges which enclose the Lake of Yamdrok, either the Khamba La, between the Lake and the Tsang-po, mentioned by Cassiano Beligatti; or else the Karo La, S.W. of the Lake (16,000 feet); both are on the road between Lhasa and Gyantse. Grueber describes the mountain sickness suffered on this pass. He attributes the malady to intoxication caused by effluvia from certain plants (Markham, p. 298).

Father Orazio della Penna also mentions Mount Langur, but the particulars he gives in regard to its position are so uncertain that it is impossible to identify it (Klaproth, p. 198). The word " Langur " would seem to be a generic name in Tibet and Nepal for " mountain " or " pass ".

The first European to traverse Nepal, returning from Tibet to India (from Shigatse to Katmandu), was the Jesuit João Cabral, thirty years before Grueber and D'Orville, but he has left us no particulars of his route (Wessels, p. 157). And Desideri's travelling companion, Emanoel Freyre, returned from Lhasa to India by way of Nepal; but he too gives us no particulars; he only tells us that the journey to Katmandu took forty-two days (see Appendix). This was the route taken by Beligatti at the end of 1740; and probably, too, was the one followed by Orazio della Penna on his repeated journeys between India and Tibet; and by the Capuchin missionaries when they departed from Lhasa in 1745 on their expulsion from Tibet and took refuge in Nepal.

When the Newar dynasty was overthrown in 1768 and Nepal was conquered by the Ghurkas, the country became closed to foreigners. Nevertheless, Pandit Hari Ram, Explorer No. 9 of Montgomerie (*Journey to Shigatse*), managed in 1871 to cross the Thung La, and has left a dramatic description of the sufferings he endured on the mountain, which he attributed to emanations from the soil. Finally,

the Thung La was crossed in 1921 by Major Morshead and A. F. R. Wollaston, members of the first Everest Expedition (Howard Bury, p. 282). On the map the name is spelt Thong La and the pass is given an altitude of 17,981 feet. They do not point to any difficulty in the crossing, though they met with a snowstorm on the top. It took them four days to descend to Nilam (spelt Nyenyam), where they still found two Jongpen as in the time of Desideri, and describe them in almost the same words as the missionary . . . " there are two Jongpen, the idea being that one will keep an eye on the other and prevent him from enriching himself."

Rockhill (*Land of the Lamas*, p. 149) says that in Central Asia everyone attributes the painful effects of the altitude to pestilential vapours from the soil. The Tibetans call the sickness " La dug " or " pass-poison " and account for it partly by the quantities of rhubarb that grow on the mountains. Chewing garlic or also smoking tobacco are supposed to be antidotes ; garlic is even given to the animals affected by the sickness.

[3] The breakneck and dangerous path between Kuti and Listi, along the Bhotia Kosi valley, the constant crossing and re-crossing of the river on insecure bridges have been described with even greater emphasis by Cassiano Beligatti and Hari Ram.

See in Giorgi the itinerary from Katmandu to Tibet, taken from the narrative of Cassiano Beligatti ; also reported by S. Lévi (vol. i, p. 125).

[4] Desideri's stay in Katmandu was only eighteen days ; in that short time he cannot have had much opportunity of collecting information about the country ; what he tells us was probably gleaned from the Capuchin Fathers of the Mission where he stayed.

According to S. Lévi (vol. ii, pp. 256–61), the three capitals of Nepal had three sovereigns belonging to different branches of the Malla dynasty, established in Nepal for more than eight centuries. Desideri's account is only partially confirmed by historical documents. Towards 1700, on the death of Yoga narendra Malla, King of Patan, this petty state passed to Jagaj jaya Malla, the king of Katmandu, who ascended the throne under the name of Mahîpatîndra. In 1723 Patan once more had a king of its own, namely Vishnu Malla.

Jagaj jaya Malla had five sons—not an only son, as Desideri says. On the death (in 1711) of his eldest son he wanted to appoint his next son to succeed him, but his soldiers forced him to appoint the third, who was born after his father had become king. It would seem that Jagaj died in 1732, having abdicated in 1723. At Bhatgaon, Rana jit Malla had succeeded in 1721–2 to Bhûpatîndra Malla.

[5] Here again Desideri's description of Nepal must be corrected in some particulars. The population of Katmandu and Patan was certainly not " of many hundred thousand " ; according to information given by the Capuchin Fathers and the Jesuits of the eighteenth

century these cities at the most had a population of forty to forty-five thousand apiece. The accusation of cowardice levied at the Newars by Desideri may be exaggerated; but it corresponds to their reputation. They are not considered as a martial tribe, and are not to be compared with the Ghurkas in this respect.

S. Lévi (vol. i, p. 232) gives the names of sixty-four castes in Nepal, representing all the occupations and professions of the inhabitants. To say that "many millions" of beasts were sacrified on the day of the Feast of Bhavani is an exaggeration, notwithstanding that the slaughter was on a grand scale. Lévi states (vol. ii, p. 39) that the total of buffaloes slaughtered in the ten days of the Feast of Durgâ-pûja about 1850 amounted to nine thousand.

A good description of Bhatgaon is in Beligatti, in the portion of his manuscript that we possess (Magnaghi, p. 617). The second part of his narrative, which has not been traced, contained, in addition to an account of customs in Tibet, a description of Nepal and its religions and customs. There is also the account of Nepal given by the Capuchin Father Marco Della Tomba, who collected his information while staying in Bettiah in the second half of the eighteenth century (De Gubernatis, p. 46).

[6] *Ol* is the Kumaoni word for "fever"; *aul* in Nepali. The other authors call it *olla*. Cassiano Beligatti (Magnaghi, p. 615) describes it with the same earnestness. The malady of course is a deadly form of pernicious malaria, which renders impossible the crossing of lower Terai between the months of April and September, and also between March and November. Giorgi mentions it, and so does Marco Della Tomba, who nearly died of it (De Gubernatis, p. 48).

[7] Mung-ki-dal is the grain of a kind of vetch, *Phaseolus Mungo, Linn.*

[8] Cassiano Beligatti and Giorgi have both given in detail the itinerary between Katmandu and Patna, with the names of the stages. Beligatti observes that the itinerary avoided as much as possible the crossing of inhabited places, to escape the exorbitant tolls for right of way—the same tolls that roused Desideri's indignation.

[9] The name *Meora* is derived from Mewāṭis, a people employed as runners or messengers on account of their endurance. They are mentioned in the 'Ain-i-Akbar as being employed under the Mughal government. (C. E. A. W. Oldham, in *Geog. Journ.*, July, 1932, vol. lxxx, p. 68.)

[10] Benares is situated at 25° 18′ 30″ N. lat., and 83° E. long.

[11] The Jumna passes by Delhi and Agra; the river that flows by Lahore is the Ravi, an affluent of the Chenab (see note 14, Book I).

[12] Desideri in these chapters resumes his account of the history of the Moghul Empire, which he laid down in Book I, ch. iv, at the point where Nazir-ud-din Muhammad Shah ascended the throne in 1720. He now carries it on till approximately 1725 (see note 5, Book I).

Muhammad Shah, being rid of the two Sayid brothers, had two visiers in succession; Nizam-ul-Mulk accepted the office only in the beginning of 1722. Both Fraser and Irvine describe Muhammad Shah in much the same terms as Desideri—as a man of weak character and an easy prey to the court factions. They speak, too, of the impossible state of affairs created by the rivalry of Samsām-ud-Daulah (the Khandaora of Desideri) with the Nizam. But Irvine states (p. 127) that the campaign of Nizam-ul-Mulk was not a war against the Empire but on the contrary was a war to defend it. As regards the Deccan he simply avenged his rights of Subhadar against the intruder Mubariz Khan; and when the chance arose he seized also on Hyderabad (1724). In both districts he was practically independent; but he was never in open rebellion against the Emperor; and in the successive campaigns against the Mahrattas he served his Emperor faithfully.

On the other hand, Fraser speaks of Nizam as in open rebellion against Muhammad Shah, with intervals of reconciliation, and even accuses him of having instigated Nadir Shah of Persia to invade the Empire. According to Irvine, the advent of Nadir in 1738–9 was determined by the diplomatic errors and amazing carelessness of the Moghul court.

[13] D. Pant (*The Commercial Policy of the Moghuls*, London, 1930) gives some interesting details about the enormous amounts of cash-money and jewels accumulated by the Moghuls. Akbar's and Jahangir's reserves in bullion and jewels, kept in the fort of Agra, are said to have amounted to nearly twenty-four million pounds.

Great nobles and governors of provinces also hoarded. Manucci speaks of vast accumulations of gold and jewels, such as the great treasure of Nizam-ul-Mulk. Mîr Jumla required ten thousand oxen and ten ships for the transport of his goods, and so on.

[14] Bajrā, a large flat-bottomed barge with cabins, fit to navigate the shallows of the river estuary.

[15] Camepondy, Pinepondy, Pongonur. Father Wessels informs me that Map 24 of the *Atlas Geographicus Societatis Jesu*, by Lud. Carrez (*Paristis*, 1900) gives, among the mission stations existing in India in Desideri's time, Carvepondi, Pinnepondy and Ponganour, all within a radius of 70–90 miles of Madras, to the S.E. and the W.N.W. of it. They must have been small towns, or perhaps villages.

[16] The map mentioned above shows Marava due East of Madura, near the coast of the Palk Strait.

[17] The tradition that makes St. Thomas visit India and there suffer martyrdom originated in the *Actae Thomae*. It was officially sanctioned by the Catholic Church in the fourth century. An earlier tradition makes him the evangelist of Parthia, and die at Edessa.

The members of the ancient Christian Churches in Southern India are known to this day as " Christians of St. Thomas ". They

hold the tradition that St. Thomas went from Malabar to Mylapur, now a suburb of Madras, where the shrine of his martyrdom, rebuilt by the Portuguese in 1547, stands on Mount St. Thomas, and contains a miraculous cross with a very ancient Pahlavi inscription. These early churches never died out, nor wholly broke their connection with the Nestorian Church, in spite of their formal union with Rome which was declared in the Synod of Diamper (1599), mentioned by Desideri, by which they were allowed the use of Syrian as liturgical language. Though Jesuit rule had been instituted by the Portuguese, the schism broke out afresh—not, however, as a return to the Nestorian Church, but in favour of the Jacobite sect. A history of the Malabar Church was written by Alexius de Menezes, mentioned by Desideri. It was translated into Latin by F. Raulin (Rome, 1745). See also W. Germann, *Die Kirche der Thomaschristen* (Gütersloh, 1877), and G. Milne Rae, *The Syrian Church in India* (Edinburgh, 1892).

[18] Pagoda, a gold and silver coin, formerly current in Southern India.

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